

MONGOLS IN WESTERN/AMERICAN CONSCIOUSNESS

BY KEVIN STUART



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The Edwin Mellen Press
Lewiston•Queenston•Lampeter

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Stuart, Kevin C.

Mongols in Western/American consciousness / Kevin Stuart.

p. cm.

Includes bibliographical references and index.

ISBN 0-7734-8443-4 (hardcover)

1. Mongols. 2. Mongols--Public opinion. 3. Public opinion--United States. 4. Public opinion--Europe. 5. Mongolia--Description and travel. I. Title.

DS19.S827 1997

909'.04942--dc21

97-38815
CIP

A CIP catalog record for this book is available from the British Library.

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The Edwin Mellen Press
Box 450
Lewiston, New York
USA 14092-0450

The Edwin Mellen Press
Box 67
Queenston, Ontario
CANADA L0S 1L0

The Edwin Mellen Press, Ltd.
Lampeter, Ceredigion, Wales
UNITED KINGDOM SA48 8LT

Printed in the United States of America

I thank David Bertelson, Paul Hooper, James McCutcheon, Bruce Koppel, Fred Blake, Almaz Khan, Stevan Harrel, J. Patrick Girdner, Bethany Thomas, Karen West, and Gobi Grieg for helping me, in various and important ways, complete this study.

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PREFACE

In celebrating the 400th anniversary of the "discovery" of the New World, the great Columbian Exposition in Chicago not only looked backward to America's participation in the long expansion of European power in the world, but forward to the events at the turn of the century that would transform the nation into a major world power. During the period from the late fifteenth century to the mid-twentieth century European civilization left its imprint everywhere in the world. And everywhere Europeans dealt with various peoples--many encountered for the first time--from a position of assumed cultural, economic, and political superiority. Though they viewed other cultures in many different ways, the superiority of their own cultural values and their right to use political and economic power to impose them upon others and to control their collective lives in a variety of ways were taken for granted.

These chauvinistic assumptions were, however, challenged from within and from without over the years. Those who acknowledged the past achievements of many peoples--from China and Japan to ancient Egypt, Peru and Mexico--implied that Europeans had no monopoly on "civilization." Moreover, a fascination with many pre-modern cultures, particularly in the Pacific and North America, lent itself to a critique of the modern world and all that progress was understood to represent. While these two uses of other cultures were themselves contradictory, they questioned the assumptions of Western cultural superiority even if they tended to be overwhelmed by the sentiments that the great world's fairs of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries enshrined. Moreover, non-western cultural achievements were assumed to belong to the past, and "primitive" cultures were seen to be fast disappearing. Thus the future unquestionably belonged to Europe and America.

The geographical mobility of Europeans, especially in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, resulted in the immigration to America, among other places, of large numbers of people whose cultural differences undermined the idea of the unity of European civilization. A century ago the supposed inferiority of many European "races" prompted calls in America both for immigration restriction and for greater efforts to "Americanize" newcomers from southern and eastern Europe. "Success" in both areas meant that by the mid-twentieth century Americans of European ancestry were homogeneously seen as members of a single (Caucasian/white) race to be distinguished not from one another but from those of African and Asian ancestry. A contemporary preference for the term Euro-American--usually in the context of multicultural assertions--stresses nurture rather than nature, but there is no questioning of the assumption that Europeans are a single people whose similarities far outweigh any differences among them.

The preeminence of European civilization has been challenged periodically from outside by people who have been seen as serious threats to its very existence. More recently the Soviet Union and the communist system it championed required immense economic, political and cultural resources to combat. Only after this "evil empire" had collapsed were Westerners willing to think of its various major components as having claims to being part of Europe. Long before the age of Columbus the Muslim world represented a similar challenge. While the Moors were defeated in France, for centuries they ruled much of the Iberian peninsula. The expansion of Europe awaited their final expulsion from a united Catholic Spain. Later the Turks assumed the mantle of Islamic conquest, and long after their advance into Europe was stopped in 1683 Europeans remained fearful of the power they represented. In recent times modern Turkey has been seen as an ally mostly because of its commitment to modernization and its strategic location but partly because the Muslim world--like the Slavic world--has complex historical links to Western civilization. Still, even today both peoples evoke a measure of apprehension in many

long since evaporated, and yet its larger meaning certainly has much to do with the subsequent negativities which have been associated with them.

Kevin Stuart's study of images of Mongols in European and American thought perceptively examines a variety of ways in which these people have been conceptualized in more recent times by travelers, scientists, medical authorities, scholars, writers, film makers, and other Europeans and Americans. Many of their views rest on racist, evolutionary or elitist assumptions which he seeks to lay bare. Readers will find much that is intriguing as well as distressing in this book.

Stuart's work belongs to a large body of writing that has emerged in the wake of decolonization since World War Two. The critique of Western assumptions of preeminence and cultural superiority has accompanied the economic and political rise of many non-Western countries. As a result we live in a world that is vastly different from the one that was celebrated in Chicago in 1893. Stuart thus evokes the contemporary mood of skepticism toward the Columbian enterprise and its aftermath rather than the celebratory mood of a century ago. The Mongols, as he acknowledges, have been much more directly colonized by the Chinese than by Europeans and Americans. Nevertheless, it is important for Westerners to reexamine and to try better to understand the assumptions and values that have influenced their relationships with non-Western peoples--not out of some masochistic urge to denigrate all aspects of Western civilization, but to establish more fully the conditions of a culturally pluralistic and egalitarian world. Stuart's book is an important contribution to this end.

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CHAPTER 1

Introduction

As for the Mongol peoples themselves, they were rather filthy. They never washed and those few who wore any underwear at all rarely changed it. They were lazy but also very honest (Poppe 1983: 89).

In the late 1960s after the bloody but little-known I'm-Tired-of-the-White-Man-Fuckin'-With-Us-and-What-Not-Riots, the city [Los Angeles] decided to pave over the neighboring mountainside, surrounding the community with a great concrete wall that spans its entire curved perimeter save for an arched gateway at the south-west entrance. At the bottom of this great wall live hordes of impoverished American Mongols, hardrock niggers, Latinos and Asians who, because of the wall's immenseness, get only fifteen minutes of precious sunshine in summer and a burst of solstice sunlight in winter (Beatty 1996: 174).

Mongoloid, Gimp: Anti P.C. terms for losers ("Buzzwords: Dormspeak" 1996).¹

Barbarians, racial degenerates, mental defectives, generally repulsive physical attributes, ghastly history, grassland wanderers. Amidst the fervor of extensive deconstruction of concepts and representations in the social sciences it is curious that scant attention has been paid to the Mongols in terms of the images they have generated. Furthermore, most Americans and Europeans, including a number of "serious" scholars of Mongolia who have written about the Mongols, do so one-dimensionally while gazing through the optical filters of Western folklore. Though this is intriguing at times, it only ferries us through the myths once again. There is also a certain fashionableness about the Mongols and Mongolia, to the extent that

fashionableness is a short-lived preoccupation with novelty that displays the superiority of those so distracted. The most recent example of this has been with the nation known variously as the Mongolian People's Republic, the Republic of Mongolia, the People's Republic of Mongolia, Mongolia, and Outer Mongolia. After the disintegration of the Soviet Union, Mongolia opened its doors to the West. For a time, in the late 1980s and early 1990s, Mongolia was one of a handful of places long closed but now open to Westerners and, by virtue of this fact alone, was deemed worthy of adding to a palette of "places I've visited" by collectors² of visits to exotic locales.

It proved a simple endeavor for Americans and Europeans to forge images of Mongolia in imitation of what has existed for a very long time. Alterations in international political relationships provided an opportunity for these negative images, in refurbished, but still recognizable, forms, to be trotted out once again.³ Mongolia had weathered the decades of no real contact with Westerners as an enduringly vague and somewhat mysterious place. Its definition now required reaffirmation. What resulted reinvoked time-honored, frivolous stereotypes of such triviality that interest in Mongolia had markedly faded by the mid-1990s.

The 1994 winner of the Nobel Prize in literature, Kenzaburo Oe (b. 1935), has said that the West is familiar with certain aspects of Japan--economic power, "quaint tea ceremonies," and technological might. These, Oe remarks, are comparable to masks, revealing little of consequence about the Japanese, whom the West has little want to understand as *people* (Remnick 1995: 38-44). A similar, more extreme case can be made for Mongols, with the masks being the images Mongols are most often associated with. This is compelling evidence, not for the static condition of Mongols and Mongolia, but for a stagnant and phlegmatic disposition of social scientists and the society they epitomize fundamentally to reevaluate portions of humanity.

It is hard to avoid the conclusion that an important part of the unchanging, largely medieval perception of the Mongols is driven by a need to find a group of people extraneous enough to Western interests to allow this image to linger. The

details of the image depend upon our desire not to trouble our own consciences, for, in striving to deal critically with an abiding representation of Mongols as borderline humanity, it becomes obligatory to highlight images entombed deep in our history and in our minds as Westerners, and then to question and probe them. It is a much easier and abundantly less distressing proposition to invoke time-honored prosaic and, at least superficially, romantic images. This study, then, is an exploration of the history of how Americans, and to a lesser degree Europeans, have perceived a particular group of people, the dimensions of that perception, and certain of its consequences.

More specifically this study will examine the influence of medieval conceptions of the Mongols as monsters that grew in their reproduction over the centuries, how these impressions affected the creation of a "Mongol" racial category for mankind, a "Mongol body" (Mongol eyes, the Mongolian blue spot), a form of mental retardation known today as trisomy 21 ("Mongoloids," "Mongolian idiots"), what travelers observed and reported while in Mongol domains, the realm of fiction and film, and the field of Mongolian Studies. As the discourse concerning these various fields is examined, I will show that its negative tone, though somewhat muted, still retains much of its harshness. I am not suggesting that Westerners have a single coherent concept of the Mongols. Nevertheless, if the entire corpus of Mongol-related references--scholarly to popular--is spread out on the table and viewed as pieces of a jigsaw puzzle, a unified whole emerges. This entity raises important questions not only about how Americans particularly view themselves in relation to others, but also how certain important American foreign policy issues are formulated.

Twentieth-century American historiography has not been untouched by "relativism," that ecumenically assumes that there is rarely "good" or "bad" history. Nevertheless, when treatments of the background of American history sporadically stumble upon the Mongols, in the course of dealing with "Oriental" history and the "rise" of Western civilization, the Mongol ascent to power is painted as inherently "bad."⁴ This judgment follows from focusing on death and destruction to the exclusion of almost everything else that characterized one aspect of the realization of the

Mongol empire, a sense that nomadic Mongols are culturally substandard, and a particular apprehension that the Mongols could have vanquished Western Europe if they had been so minded.

An account of the Mongols and their effect on world civilizations is offered by Stears, Adas, and Schwartz (1992) that is balanced in its look beyond the brutality that the Mongols, on occasion, did exercise. They point out that the Mongols ordered human interaction throughout the enormous Mongol empire using a law code first promulgated by Chinggis Khan (1162-1277). This brought about a new stage in international contact, for travelers could move across the well-policed Mongol territory without fear for their property and lives. The extent of the Mongol domains also engendered intercourse among the cultures of Asia, the Middle East, and Europe that facilitated the exchange of foods, tools, and ideas on an unparalleled scale. Furthermore, ranking Mongol women refused to be restrained as had Chinese imperial consorts, did not adopt footbinding, retained control within their households, and could own property. Nevertheless, Mongol domination was too short-lived to reverse the trends that were diminishing the place of women in Chinese society. The approach of these authors is, unfortunately, very much the exception.

It is also important to indicate my personal involvement with this topic. In 1984 I left Honolulu for what I envisioned to be a one year sojourn in China. My stay had been arranged by a Chinese friend, whose well-connected contacts obtained an English teaching job for me at Inner Mongolia University, located in Hohhot,⁵ the capital of China's Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region. Like many life events that prove ultimately important, this was mere coincidence. I was, at that time, willing to go anywhere in China. While in Hohhot, through a process I still do not fully understand, most of my close personal friends were Mongols, although this ethnic group constituted a small percentage of all the people that I encountered. I, like certain of the travelers I later examined and took to task, wished to go to the remote grasslands to experience the "real" Mongolia and see the vanishing way of life of the "real" Mongols. Between 1984-1987 this was accomplished by three trips to

northeastern Inner Mongolia, several trips to southwestern Inner Mongolia, one to an area near what is often referred in the literature as Kalgan, and two trips to the border town of Erlian (Erenhot).⁶

In 1987 I left Inner Mongolia and moved to China's northwestern Qinghai Province, located just north of the Tibet Autonomous Region and just south of the Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region. What was to have been a one year stay in China became a much longer experience. My interest in Mongol people continued and various factors led me to focus on the Monguor⁷ in my research. In 1992-1993 I spent seven months teaching English in Ulaanbaatar⁸ and Erdenet in Mongolia, which provided encounters with still other Mongols. As time passed I came to better understand Mongols from their point of view. I increasingly realized that many Western images of them were, at best, badly distorted. Consequently, I became interested in exploring how these concepts came to be created and in more precisely defining them. Hence this study.

A more exhaustive treatment of the topic examined here would have embraced a detailed examination of Chinggis Khan, Qubilai⁹ Khan, Tamerlane¹⁰ the travels of Marco Polo (1254-1324), and the reports of various travelers that do not appear in the present study. Originally, I had planned a chapter devoted exclusively to famous Mongol personages; however, in reading literature about the Mongols I found that, though these notables do enter the discourse on various permutations of "Mongol," it is usually little more than a light dash of seasoning suggesting the exotic and the cruel.¹¹ An example of the exotic representation may be found in Nicholas Kolumban's book of poetry titled Reception at the Mongolian Embassy that has nothing at all to do with Mongols. The title seems to have been selected solely on the basis of its exotic appeal and also perhaps to convey a sense of the absurd in that, given the nature of Mongols, it is not possible for them to have a "reception." For these reasons I opted to incorporate relevant references to famous Mongols into the larger issues each chapter poses.

It should also be noted that the use of the term "Western" is not altogether accurate. Initially, I intended to write exclusively about an American impression of the Mongols and planned to utilize materials prepared mostly by Americans. However, I encountered materials by Europeans, particularly Britons, that I felt had influenced Americans and thus their writings became important to the present discussion. A good example of this is the ethnic classification of "idiots" put forth by Langdon Down that produced the "Mongoloid idiot" category of mental retardation that is still in use today. It is true, however, that certain European countries experienced Mongol armies on their lands that gave Europeans a greater awareness of Mongols and Mongolia than Americans ever directly experienced. Is there a single European concept of the Mongols or many? The ways in which, say, the Germans and the French differ in their understanding of the Mongols from one another and from American opinions are issues that await further research.

Who Are The Mongols?

Most Canadians think Mongols are nomadic barbarians who invaded a part of Europe and destroyed Western civilization. In their minds, Mongols disappeared a long time ago.¹²

To Western minds, "Mongol" was synonymous with the "barbarian hordes" of Genghis Khan (Newman 1992: 17).

"Sam [Wagstaff]¹³ thought artists were natural aristocrats," Ellen Phelan remembers. "Interesting, considering his politics were somewhere to the right of Genghis Khan." And [Robert] Mapplethorpe, as a Roman Catholic lower-middle-class boy, was just what Wagstaff felt an artist and painter should be: . . . (Als 1997: 39).

Definitions are important to this inquiry. "Mongol" and "Mongolian" are used to mean people who so designate themselves. I do not use them or related variations to specify a racial category or a mentally defective condition, other than when quoting

and discussing sources. Mongols may be found scattered across a large area of the globe. They make up a majority in the country of Mongolia. In the People's Republic of China, Mongols make up about twelve percent of the population of the Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region,¹⁴ a vast tract of land at the top of China bordering Mongolia and Russia that, in the last century, has been politically neutralized by its large Han Chinese population and governmental control.¹⁵ Several Chinese provinces bordering Inner Mongolia, such as Liaoning, Heilongjiang, Jilin, and Gansu, are also home to many Mongols. Qinghai Province and the Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region have appreciable Mongol populations. Other ethnic groups in China closely related to the Mongols include the Dongxiang, Monguor, Yugu, and Baoan, who dwell in Northwest China, and the Dagur,¹⁶ who live mostly in Northeast China, although Dagur communities do exist in Xinjiang as a result of the stationing of Dagur troops during the Qing or Manchu Dynasty (1644-1911). In Russia, Mongols live in the Buryat Republic, located northeast of Inner Mongolia, around Lake Baikal, the world's largest freshwater lake. Kazakstan, to the west of Xinjiang, is home to the Kalmyk Mongols. The Mogols of the Herat, Maimana, and Badakhshan regions of Afghanistan are also often counted.¹⁷

The Kalmyk Mongols are worth an aside because between November 1951 and April 1952, 526 Kalmyk refugees were brought to the United States from camps in what was then West Germany and other locations in Europe. This was done with the help of the Tolstoy Foundation and the Church World Service Organization. Political upheavals in the Soviet Union had resulted in the dispersal of Kalmyks in Europe and, later, mass deportation to Siberia and Central Asia ("The American Kalmyks" 1962: 6-7). Today, most Kalmyk-Americans live in Pennsylvania and New Jersey.

The Mongol language falls within the Altaic family of languages. This linguistic division includes people living across a vast land mass in Asia and consists of approximately forty languages. These languages are further divided into three groups: Mongolian, Turkic, and Manchu-Tungus. Many scholars argue for a common

ancestry of these groups. However, other researchers dispute this, arguing instead for mutual influences when languages come in contact with each other (Crystal 1988: 307).

Mongols And Tibetans

To me, Mongolia was long a magic word. As a boy, I read of Genghis Khan and his sons and grandsons, who put together an empire that extended from Peking to the Danube and touched Egypt in the south (Douglas 1962: 289).

When [Ted] Devine asked voters to rate [Newt] Gingrich on a one-to-10 scale, about half of them gave him zero. "We're talking Genghis Khan Territory," Devine says. "Newt is right up there with Saddam Hussein" (Greider 1996: 42).

Periodic comparisons will also be made between how Americans view Tibetans and Mongols because these images are so disparate. Mongols and Tibetans both occupy large areas of China, both share much the same religion, historically both had a large measure of nomadic culture, and both have legitimate claims to nationhood within the present geopolitical entity known as the People's Republic of China. The appointment by the Mongol khan Altan to full pontifical status of the first Dalai Lama, whose current incarnation, for the moment at least, is a favorite of the West, shows the intimate linkages between these two groups of people.¹⁸ This linkage also points out an extreme difference, for if the Dalai Lama is the most well-known Tibetan to the West, Chinggis Khan is the most well-known Mongol. The esteem with which the two are held by the West could not be more disparate. While the Dalai Lama, a recipient of the Nobel Peace Prize, represents a spiritual-political leader who advocates nonviolence in the solving of Tibet's problems with China, Chinggis Khan suggests great violence.

The importance of "Tibet" to Americans prompts elected national representatives in Washington regularly to raise the issue of "human rights in Tibet"

with Chinese leaders, and organized groups in the United States, such as Tibet Watch, located in the District of Columbia, seek national independence for Tibet. Apart from the American-European desire for an exotic Other, the role of Tibetans in exile in the United States is a key factor in raising and determining public consciousness on this issue. Consequently, the United States has established programs allowing a certain number of Tibetans to immigrate here each year. There are no similar efforts on behalf of Mongols, notwithstanding reports by Asia Watch (Crackdown in Inner Mongolia 1991, Continuing Crackdown in Inner Mongolia 1992) detailing many human rights abuses, in the Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region, comparable to those in Tibet that have drawn much attention. This suggests that images can be exceedingly powerful, not only in terms of how individual Americans react to an individual Mongol or Tibetan, but also how they affect the contours of obligation the United States government feels toward Mongols and Tibetans in China.

Disparities in images encourage speculation about future relations between China and Mongolia. Mongolia's population of a little more than two million is infinitesimal compared to China's one billion plus. One plausible scenario in China-Mongolia relations is that, as China's population increases and its economic power continues to strengthen, it will be confident enough to reinterpret past treaties and conclude that Mongolia is, in fact, part of China.¹⁹ Mongolia offers China room for surplus population and a mineral-rich land of vast space for colonization and exploitation. In 1995, China's central government was spending more than 400,000 *renminbi*²⁰ annually on publishing a periodical, written half in Cyrillic and half in the traditional Mongol script, for free distribution in Mongolia. The thrust of this tabloid is to familiarize "Outer Mongols" with positive achievements in Inner Mongolia as understood by China's central government.

Economies

In an important essay on modern Mongolia's economy the American Mongologist Alicia J. Campi (1994) argues that Western economists' prescriptions for Mongolia's post-Soviet development rest on premises springing from the agricultural, sedentary, industrial experience of Western nations. These premises postulate that, in time, Mongolia's extensive nomadic economy will be transformed into an intensive agricultural-industrial economy. Further, she contends that modern economists of whatever philosophical stripe, consciously or subconsciously, regard nomads as "barbarians," and she correctly points out that Western countries forcibly integrated their own native nomadic peoples. The government of the United States, for instance, over the years managed to contain a sizeable percentage of traditionally nomadic Native Americans on rigidly defined reservations.

Issue can be taken, however, with Campi's contention that "Mongol people desire to retain their nomadic life and not become settled, urbanized, and industrialized"²¹ (228). Plausibly, certain Mongols may wish to remain nomadic. However, it may also be the case that when given a choice, a far greater number (especially of young Mongols), whether they live in Inner Mongolia or Mongolia, would choose to live in cities. The model of success accepted by many of China's Mongols entails obtaining a Chinese language education²² and finding employment in an urban area--if not one of China's large comparatively wealthy cities such as the coastal urban areas of Shanghai, Guangzhou, Dalian, and Yantai, then Hohhot. Although many Mongols who attain this goal retain a strong sense of nationalism, many do not. Likewise, during the long decades of Soviet domination of Mongolia, ultimate success began with, preferably, education at a Russian language middle school followed by study at Moscow State University. In the 1990s this model remains powerful, however, many Mongols at the upper levels of society have fathomed that the United States particularly offers greater opportunity and are eagerly

attempting to find ways to enter their children in American schools and urging them to learn English.

Other images also emerge questioning Campi's assumption. While teaching English in Ulaanbaatar, I showed a film (Zhang 1987) about herding life in a remote north-central area of Inner Mongolia. The audience consisted of several classes of Mongol students. One scene shows a sheep being killed in the traditional manner. This slaughtering technique involves slitting the sheep's chest with a sharp knife, inserting a hand into the chest cavity, and breaking a main blood vessel or squeezing the heart. As the sheep bleeds to death internally the person doing the killing, customarily an older male, clamps his hand on the sheep's muzzle to hasten death through asphyxiation. After it is detected that the sheep is quite dead, when there is no reaction to a few thumps on the eyeball, for example, the chest is further slit open and the blood that has collected in the sheep's chest cavity is carefully dipped out and later poured into cleaned intestines, boiled, and served as blood sausages. Particularly female students reacted with aversion to this element of nomad life. They were equally disquieted over very brief scenes of "places of leaving," that is, areas where human corpses are left in the open to be eaten by wild animals by Mongols who do not practice ground burial or cremation. In addition, there is an explicit sense among Mongolia's city and town Mongols that rural folk are country bumpkins. Urban Mongols like to experience "country life," but for very brief periods, preferably in summer when the weather is fine. None of this supports Campi's contention that Mongols *wish* to remain nomadic.

Unlike Campi, I refuse to pass judgment on what the Mongols of Mongolia *should* do. This is not only because "The very topic of nomadism itself confounds the modern [Western] reader" (Fletcher 1979: ix) because of our distance from it, but also partly because when once I showed considerable interest in traditional Mongol life, a highly educated Mongol, living in Hohhot, severely castigated me. He said that, like many Americans who had already achieved high levels of development, I wished to keep traditional Mongols at very low levels of poverty--in his mind indistinguishable

from "a traditional way of life." Such a set of circumstances, he chided, would keep Mongols on "reservations" or in "living museums" and always available to me for my own selfish research. He further argued that retaining the Mongol language and Mongol customs was positively irrelevant. What was critical, he contended, was that Mongols should have access to education, better medical care, an adequate diet, and better housing conditions. He felt that was impossible in any traditional/nomadic Mongol setting. I add that this Mongol spoke and wrote perfect Mongol, and had spent his early life in an area where there were many herding Mongols. He was, at the time he rebuked me, a pious Chinese Communist Party member.²³ The utility of inculcating such values in Mongol-citizens-of-China is self-evident. Such logic speeds assimilation.

Nomadism in Mongolia, in all its possible modifications and incarnations, deserves serious study because it has certain advantages. Angelo Anastasio (1994: 16) summarizes several of these benefits, as compared to agriculture, in a discussion of Mongol adjustment to the natural environment. Nomads' use of land does not destroy natural cover and work consists of occasional periods of heavy labor followed by long periods of relaxation, as opposed to long intervals of hard work followed by short interludes of leisure experienced by farmers.²⁴ Nevertheless, despite such advantages, Campi is accurate in asserting that Mongols will probably not be offered nomadism as a serious option to an intensive agricultural-industrial economy by international "developers."

Nomads And Barbarians

(from the "National Anthem of Hungary")

Now the Mongol arrow flew
Over our devoted heads²⁵

From 1994 to 1996 an exhibition dubbed "Genghis Khan: Treasures From Inner Mongolia" toured selected cities in North America. The response, based on published reviews and audience attendance, was positive. A closer examination of the contents of the exhibition, however, reveals that its direct connection with Chinggis Khan is limited. For example, five of the six chapters in Empires Beyond the Great Wall: The Heritage of Genghis Khan, a guidebook that introduces the exhibition, deal with time periods and various ethnic groups that seem to have little to do with the Mongols or, if they do, the connection is not clarified. The exhibition is actually an assemblage of archaeological artifacts from Inner Mongolia, a fact not all reviewers seem to have noticed. In a review titled "Rethinking Mongolia," Brian Fagan asserts that Mongolia "has traditionally been viewed as a frontier state," but the exhibit suggests "that it was a flourishing, evolving state that traded with near and distant lands" (1994: 64). Apparently, Fagan feels the former condition might exclude the latter. Similarly, in a review of the same exhibition, Lam-Easton (1995) makes much of the Mongols' bloody medieval past by way of introduction, an approach that Regina Hackett also used in her review of the same exhibition published in the Seattle Post-Intelligencer in 1995. She quotes Chinggis Khan, for example, as saying that the "greatest happiness is to vanquish your enemies. . . to chase them before you, to rob them of their wealth, to see those dearest to them bathed in tears, to clasp to your bosom their wives and daughters" (1). What relationship this quotation has to do with the artifacts is not clear.

Fuzziness in understanding Mongol geography and identity is also evident.²⁶ An exhibition brochure ("Genghis Khan: Treasures From Inner Mongolia" n.d.)

features a photograph of the Great Wall across the entire front side. In that the Great Wall was built partially to fend off northern peoples long before the time Mongols led by Chinggis Khan attacked China, the attempt seems to be to associate a name ("Genghis Khan") and a cultural icon, associated throughout the West with China (the Great Wall) with the Mongols. Lam-Easton's suggestion that the exhibition shows "3,500" years of Mongol history is also perplexing. History does not say if "Mongols" existed that long ago. People did live in what are known as Mongol areas today, but what languages they spoke and how their cultural practices may have resembled those of Mongols of the Chinggis Khan era remain, often, a mystery. Organizers may have felt that adding "Genghis Khan" to the exhibition's name would provoke more interest than selecting a more representative title such as "Cultural Relics From Inner Mongolia." Nevertheless, this exhibition in associating a reasonably positive image with the Mongols, is offering many thousands of persons in North America something other than the usual representations.

National Geographic has, over the years, presented several features on Mongolia and the Mongols that portray the people as nomads. In 1921, for example, "The People of the Wilderness" written by Adam Warwick appeared. Subheaded "The Mongols, Once the Terror of All Christendom, Now a Primitive, Harmless Nomad Race," Warwick's article provides a brief comment on Mongol history ("All Christendom Feared the Tartar Chief"), food ways, clothing, and other elements of Mongol life that the many photographs that constitute most of the article illustrate. The tone is decidedly judgmental. Mongols kill sheep "in the barbarous native way," their religion is "wickedness" and "repulsive," and they have the "disgusting" habit of leaving corpses on the plains rather than burying them. Such negative reactions to Mongol customs, however, do not prohibit one of Warwick's companions²⁷ from posing in one photograph amidst a number of human bones. Holding a skull in either hand, this Westerner seems desirous of providing a record of his intimate contact with, experience of, and superiority toward this alien culture. Overall, the Mongols

are judged to live a simple bucolic existence, "a life of true liberty, remote from courts of justice and police" (517).

This image of the Mongols as nomads is a powerful and persistent one in Western travelers' reports and picture books. In 1921 most Mongols were nomads, at least in the nation now known as Mongolia. The enduring unchanging nature of this characterization demands close scrutiny, however, because it does not reflect the majority of Mongols living in the late twentieth century. During 1984-1987, I traveled extensively in the Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region where most of the world's Mongols live. At that time, it is likely that less than ten percent of China's Mongols lived in *gers*.²⁸ Well over half of Inner Mongolia's Mongols presently live in the south-central cultivated regions of Ulaankhad and Jirem.²⁹ Most Mongols in this region are farmers and their lives differ little from the Han Chinese they live with or near. Moreover, Mongolia classifies more than fifty-seven percent of its population as urban (Doebler 1994: 16). This does not include other nonnomadic Mongols living in rural areas. However, the image of the Mongol as a mounted militaristic nomad is so deeply ingrained in the minds of Westerners that the phrase "Mongol farmer" or "city Mongol" may strike the reader as a misnomer.

This image has also led to certain preposterous instances of stereotyping. For example, Carolyn Han's (1993) collection of folk accounts from China, retold for the edification of American children, and purportedly representing certain non-Han peoples and Han Chinese, contains information about each group of non-Han people mentioned in the collection. In describing Mongol abodes she writes that the Mongol

houses, or yurts, as they are called are unique to Mongols. . . .

In July during the Nadam Festival (*nadam* means "games" in Mongolian), the yurts are moved to Hohhot, the capital of Inner Mongolia. Growing up on horseback, Mongols are skilled riders. Their games and festivals include competition on horseback, archery, and wrestling (68-69).

This account is so riddled with inaccuracies one hardly knows where to begin.³⁰ "July" is likely a direct translation of "seventh moon," which, because the lunar calendar utilized by many Mongols and Han differs from the Gregorian calendar, might not be

July at all; *nadam* does mean "games," but a better translation would be "play" or "recreation" (Sun 1990: 495); the great majority of Mongols do not grow up on horseback; "yurts" are not so called by Mongols; *gers* are wooden structures covered nowadays, as often as not, with canvas because it is more durable than hides or felt; *gers* are also employed by Kazakh, and, therefore, are not unique to Mongols; the idea that "the yurts are moved to Hohhot" is so ludicrous it does not merit further consideration; and what does "competition on horseback" mean? Yet, in the late twentieth century, this jumble of inaccuracies is a representative image.³¹

Given the significance of the agricultural Mongols, relevant research has been scant. The Mongol American, Kuo-yi Pao (1964a, 1964b, 1966, 1990), bases his articles on observations in the Khorchin Mongol village of Bayin Man from 1925 to 1944; Almas and Stuart (1988) describe the Mongol *panching* labor-hiring system in Mongol agricultural areas of Hinggan before Liberation; Goa (1991) interviewed a seventy-four year old woman in Shand Sumu of Shuluun Chagaan Banner in the eastern portion of Chahar, which is an area that presently has a population that is half agricultural Han Chinese; Stuart *et al.* (1991: 114-123) interviewed an aged Mongol woman in an area of southern Shilingol League that is neither fully nomadic nor fully agricultural; Pasternak and Salaff (1993) make general comments about agriculture in Inner Mongolia in the context of their study of Han Chinese "cowboys" in the northeastern part of Inner Mongolia; and Mandala and Stuart (1994) report on education, death, observance of the lunar new year, and marriage in Horqin Right Middle Banner, Inner Mongolia. Other than these limited offerings, little information on agricultural Mongols is available.

Images of nomads also help perpetuate the idea of the Mongol "barbarian." Friedman (1981) has discussed the importance of the city as a distinguishing characteristic of the Western concept of civilized life that is rooted in Greek and Roman culture. Peoples living in remote environments and wearing hair or animal garments--which is precisely how Mongols continue to be portrayed--have typically been held to be somewhere between animal and human, the image summoned by

"barbarian," synonyms of which embrace "savage," "yahoo," "brute," "Philistine," and, as an adjective, "coarse," "crude," and "uncouth." Adverbs are equally distasteful.

A disturbing illustration of linking nomadism with "barbarity" may be found in Denis Sinor's textbook on Inner Asia (1969). A former president of the Mongolia Society, based at Indiana University in Bloomington, Sinor depicts the boundary between Central Eurasia and the "great sedentary civilizations" as a division between the "civilized and uncivilized," "the haves and have-nots, the chosen people from the philistines" (2). Readers are also told that "The barbarian who has become civilized usually prefers to lose his identity rather than to return to his former condition" (4). Sinor asks rhetorically:

Who would like to leave the flesh pots and go forth into the wilderness? There are no volunteers for the Outer Darkness. Being a barbarian is a moral as well as an economic and political state. The history of Central Eurasia is a history of the barbarian (5).

Sinor further wields the religious metaphor when writing of the "barbarian's conversion" to a sedentary "civilized" way of life.

Leaving nomads aside, there have been great cities in Central Asia for the last 2,000 years. One American anthropologist reported to me that when he recently visited Uygur homes in Urumqi and Turpan he felt much closer to European than to Chinese civilization. In 1996 it seems hardly necessary to *argue* with Sinor over what makes up "barbarism," a lack of "civilization," and "morality." Nevertheless, he is excruciatingly unaware and unappreciative of many aspects of the people he writes about. Complex Inner Asian folk religious traditions, for example, nearly thirty years after his college text was first published, are still not well studied. What is notable is that a person with such notions of the innate superiority of Western sedentary culture over nomadic culture served as president of the Mongolia Society at the leading institution for Mongol Studies in the United States. Under such leadership, it is hard to imagine how Mongols could have been represented in a way most would have approved of.

A more recent example of associating the Mongols with barbarism and destruction may be found in Interior Design in a report on a domicile constructed by Adi Shamir Zion and Leslie Gill. The purpose of this abode is "for whatever exists after the apocalypse." The designers referred, so the report reads, to two events:

the Mongol sacking of Kiev in 1240 AD, heralding the dawn of the Dark Ages and the source of the Byzantine design grammar that shapes the model, and the rather more recent explosion of the nuclear reactor at Chernobyl, a prelude, perhaps, to the biggest bang of all ("Wormwood House" 1994: 94-95).

The writer argues that in attempting to make sense of the physical world, it is necessary to grasp the paradoxical duality encapsulated in cycles of "boom and bust." In equating the Mongols with the apocalypse, the Dark Ages, and exploding nuclear reactors, they appear to be an embodiment of a calamitous, almost mechanical natural force shrouded in a dim past and future historical periods of catastrophe.

Depicting the Mongols as "barbarians" serves a useful function. It gives to "scholars," "experts," and "hands" in Mongol Studies the dubious distinction of being masters of an exotic and even somewhat dangerous subject matter. This is manifested in a formidable scholarly corpus dealing with the Mongols of the Mongol Empire and research on arcane elements of Mongol linguistics. It is not unfair to say that for most Western Mongolists all the living Mongols of the world could suddenly vanish and this would not be noticed. It would be irrelevant. Their research would serenely sail on without a ripple of interruption. Such research implicitly encourages a representation of the Mongols as barbarians because it enhances the status of the "expert" in the same way that the greatness of the missionary's victory depends on the strangeness of the people he has converted. This essentially obliterates the Mongols as human beings.³²

This is in stark contrast to the Mongol point of view. Domination by the Chinese and, more recently, by the Soviets for many Mongols, led to a pronounced sense of victimization. From numerous personal contacts with Mongols from 1984-1997, I can report never meeting a Mongol who expressed remorse for Mongol

offenses committed in past centuries. For Mongols to accept "brutality" either as *a* or *the* dominant characteristic of their nationality is as improbable as it is for any other group of people, and made all the more implausible because this is the view many Han Chinese have of them. The general impression I drew from informally interviewing ordinary Mongols was that Chinggis Khan had been elevated to the plane of a benign deity and, as a kind and caring patron saint, was incapable of having ever committed offenses. More educated Mongols, those who had, for example, read The Secret History of the Mongols, the oldest extant Mongol history written in 1240 that describes certain violent details of the Mongol conquests, were proud to be part of a group that had at one time governed much of the world. This sense of pride far outshone any sense that the Mongols were guilty of wrongdoing. Furthermore, the wholesale violence that was visited upon the Mongols in China during the Cultural Revolution, which included not only outlawing use of the Mongol language in certain circumstances, but also that resulted in the imprisonment, torture, and death of many thousands of Mongol men on trumped up charges of belonging to separatist nationalist organizations, was hardly conducive to a collective sense of Mongol remorse related to centuries' old mass killings in the quest to enlarge the Mongol realm. Similar devastations to the Mongol population took place during the Stalinist era in Mongol regions later under Soviet suzerainty and met with a coinciding response by Mongols in Soviet-controlled areas.

Monsters

Like frightened children, the People of the Wilderness [Mongols] desire to see their terrors embodied in idols which may be placated, and the cunning monks are quick to take advantage of their fears (Warwick 1921: 521).

One of the many possible places to begin considering more specific Western perceptions of the Mongols may be found in John Block Friedman's The Monstrous

Races in Medieval Art and Thought (1981). Friedman explores how cultures, beyond the borders of the world familiar to Europeans, were represented from antiquity through the Middle Ages in art and literature. Friedman's title shows the overpowering representation that, he hastens to add, was not due to anything monstrous at all. Rather, this designation stems from little known people's being different in physical appearance and social practices from those who described them. The need on the part of Europe for a monstrous Other was necessary to better define Westerners as superior.

How fantastic the "monstrous races" appear, at least to my late-twentieth century Western consciousness,³³ can be seen by examining certain examples presented by Friedman of "monstrous racial types" appearing in medieval artistic representations of the travels of Marco Polo, an Italian who became an official in the Mongol court. They include a Cyclops, Blemmyae, Sciopod, Cynocephalus, an Anthropophagus, and a horned man.

What, exactly, did such "races" look like? Friedman provides vivid examples, both visually and verbally. The Cyclops were one-eyed giants, most commonly identified as living in Sicily and India. Blemmyae lived in the sands of Libya, and also Marco Polo's faraway haunts. Their chests doubled as faces, for they lacked necks and heads. Sciopods were one-legged; nevertheless, they were swift when they wanted to be. They spent most of their time sprawled on their backs, shielding their faces from the sun with their large single foot. Cynocephali were creatures with dog heads who lived, among other locales, in the mountains of India.³⁴ They communicated by yelping. Certain Cynocephali exhaled flames and had huge teeth. The Anthropophagi were often represented to be in Scythia and Africa. They drank from human skulls, wore human heads and scalps on their chests, and, once their parents got old, they ate them. Friedman suggests that these representations were equal in veracity to a medieval audience to the more austere renditions of Marco Polo's own accounts. They were, finally, all history. By extension, these "monsters" were creditable representatives of those living in the Mongol domains and the Mongols themselves.³⁵

In medieval Europe, the abstract study of geography was a part of cosmology and theology (Mungello 1989: 40) as exemplified by the world map in Hereford Cathedral in Britain. This map further supports the monstrousness of those inhabiting Mongol domains in medieval times. Measuring 165 by 137 centimeters, it is one of the largest extant maps from the Middle Ages. It was painted on a single animal skin in 1290 by Richard of Haldingham, subsequently a canon at the cathedral from 1305 to 1313. Like most maps of this period, the world's nucleus is Jerusalem, the heart of the Christian nations. In distant Northeast Asia, literally perched on the outer perimeter of the known world, appear representations of the Anthropophagi. A key tells the reader that in this area "are exceedingly truculent men, eating human flesh, drinking blood, cursed sons of Cain" (Friedman 1981: 95).

Dealing with the same time frame as Friedman, Matthew Paris' English History From the Year 1235-1273 lavishly employs monstrous images in narrating Mongol military advances in Europe. The Mongols are called Tartars, for they were thought to have been "demons loosed from Tartarus." They are also called a "monstrous and inhuman race of men," "a barbarous race of people," a "detestable race of Satan," being "inhuman and of the nature of beasts," "inhuman and brutal, outlawed, barbarous, and untamable," a "fierce race of inhuman beings," "houndish cannibals," and "dog-headed cannibals--anthropophagi, as they are called." Their habits appear equally hideous. They "feed on raw flesh, and even on human beings," and are "thirsting after and drinking blood, and tearing and devouring the flesh of dogs and human beings."

Monsters Today

During my inquiries as to just what "Mongol" has meant to Americans and Europeans, monstrous images have continued to resurface. Granted they are not as fabulous as what has just been described, but it must be remembered that in the late twentieth century the astonishing examples cited above are no longer credible as a

scientific representation of humanity. Earth's most remote geographical niches have been probed and photographed, as have the humans of these regions. There may be clusters of very tall people or very short people, but most Americans³⁶ are convinced that there are no physical monsters just over the horizon waiting impatiently to be photographed, studied, converted to Christianity and democracy, and fed Big Macs.

Nevertheless, physically monstrous images are still very much operative in video games, comics, science fiction literature, and motion pictures. As Friedman points out, our National Geographic interest in "primitive and colorful societies" today shares much in common with the insatiable medieval appetite for the exotic. European medieval people needed "monstrous races"; modern Americans require "primitive and colorful" societies. In the way that monstrous races were beyond the pale to medieval society, the Mongols are beyond the pale to twentieth-century Westerners, not because they have chest-faces or eat their parents, but because they are heirs to an imagined monstrous physicality, history, and culture.

This is expedited by selective reporting. Supported by countless vignettes across the centuries, the ubiquitous belief that Mongols are cruel and violent obscures the violence in late twentieth-century American culture. It might take considerable explaining to make someone from a non-Western culture, or people living three hundred years from now, comprehend why late twentieth-century American children's cartoons are humorous. Why should losing limbs, being flattened to the dimensions of a flapjack, shot full of holes, and literally blown to bits be construed as comic? And why should this be viewed as appropriate fare for children? This is the standard substance of cartoons and, in more realistic if in more subdued terms, it summarizes the content of many popular movie and television offerings, as well as real-life crime in modern America. Given this sense of ubiquitous violence, it becomes even more perplexing to understand why other cultures are interpreted in violent and cruel terms. The best answer is that Mongols serve a useful function in fulfilling the need for a disfigured Other that is represented as fundamentally unlike the Self. This difference, finally, proves a superior Self.

America is not the only nation to have needed a disfigured Other and the Mongols are not the only group to have served this need. Pan Ku (AD 32-92), a historian of the Han Dynasty (BC 206-AD 220), like nearly all Chinese scholars up to recent times, drew a clear distinction between the customs, food, clothing, and language of the "barbarians" and Han Chinese. The difference "between the center and the alien outside was made by Heaven and Earth," which was also a comment on agriculture potential because "their land is impossible to cultivate." For this reason "sage rulers considered them beasts" because they had never received "Our administration and teaching." Consequently, the only correct association between these "barbarians" and the Han Chinese should be to "Receive them when they offer tribute as a sign of admiration for our righteousness" (Jagchid and Hyer 1979: 2-3). This view was predominantly a moral one. True, mode of life was important, but the hope was that correct teachings and administration could convert barbarians into intimates of the center. To a considerable extent, this philosophy toward non-Han peoples continues in China in media reports and educational materials, but a full treatment exceeds the range of this study.

Americans and Europeans have historically agreed with this point of view: nomads should settle and become agricultural, learn the "right teachings," that is learn to be Christians and democrats, before they could become intimates with Westerners. But the American-European view went one step farther than the ancient Chinese view in introducing the scientific-racial argument. Not only were the "barbarians" handicapped by mode of life and lack of literization, they were also limited by the race they belonged to, an argument happily borrowed by Chinese intellectuals.

Thus, in terms of their position on a world map and in how they have been historically represented, Mongols have been incarnations of the extreme. Along with other exotic peoples, they fulfill the function of a radical other. Considering how little *direct* contact Americans and Europeans have had with the Mongols, it is startling but inevitable that whatever representations are available would exert a tremendous impact on people's visions and attitudes that shape real world politics. The next

chapter shows just how "monstrous Mongols" figured prominently in early formulations of "race."

CHAPTER 2

Race

I remember that I learned the word "Mongoloid" quite a long time ago while in college [in China] to mean more or less the Asian or Yellow race and felt a sense of pride that the name of the Mongols was used as a generic name for so many different peoples. My idea was that it was proof of the once tremendous impact of the Mongols in the world. Then, in the early 1980s, a Canadian told me in a somewhat awkward and apologetic manner, "It's very unfortunate, but I think you should know that in English the term 'Mongoloid' is associated with a sort of mental disease." In fact, in many ways, I had a similar experience with the idea of the "slanted eye." It was a concept and physical feature that I became conscious of and came to understand only after I came to America and lived here for an extended period of time. Back in China, it is not a meaningful concept at all (1995).³⁷

"I'm the ugliest genital female alive in America," Pincushionova said, and it might well have been true. "I don't mean deformed, I don't mean scarred or burned, I don't mean Mongoloid or handicapped, I mean ugly. Simply and purely ugly. What do you think?" (Innaurato 1988: 92).

Mongoloid" categories of human beings, embellished though they are by the ornaments required of "scientific" investigation, have no exclusive scientific significance or rationale. The desire to distinguish "Mongoloids" from other races has sprung not out of an innocent scientific curiosity, the yearning to decipher certain crucial scientific facts, nor is this passion traceable to a wish to solve pivotal scientific quandaries. Covering a span of well over two centuries, such desires have arisen

because of the conviction, explicit or unstated, that this separation gives various advantages to the group creating the divisions.³⁸

Classification of *Homo sapiens* into such categories as Mongoloids expresses human variation in crude and potentially misleading ways and obscures the important fact that all populations are variable (Harrison *et al.* 1977: 184). Haddon succinctly remarks (1995) that qualities used to formulate a classification scheme, and the number of characteristics, have been very often matters of individual opinion. He concludes that "a race type exists mainly in our own minds" (1). Hotz (1995) supports this view by reporting that many researchers have concluded that "race" has no basis in fundamental human biology and should be abandoned. "Race is a social construct derived mainly from perceptions conditioned by events of recorded history. . . ." notes C. Loring Brace, a biological anthropologist at the University of Michigan (quoted in Hotz).

Invariably the language used to depict "Mongoloids" paints an unflattering portrait, both in terms of physical appearance and, particularly in earlier times, morality. Downs and Bleibtreu (1969), in discussing problems in racial classification and the names of racial groups, point out that, ideally and most scientifically, certain characteristics are chosen, their frequency measured, and statistical types then created. Consequently, when someone says that "Mongoloids" live in Asia, it means that these characteristics appear more frequently among Asians than among Africans. However, the authors hasten to add that the characteristics selected as racial criteria are arbitrary and "even in the most scientifically objective study, determined in part by cultural bias" (149). Skin color is usually used as an important racial determinant, they point out, while hair color is often deemed unimportant. This leads to lumping people with dark skins together in a single racial classification and explaining their existence through a theory of common origin. In contrast, there have been no such attempts for red-haired people, who are found, at least occasionally, throughout the world. Nor is there the suggestion that red-haired people represent an ancient infusion from a red-haired race.

A further problem Downs and Bleibtreu identify is that "Mongoloids" are supposed to have yellowish-brown skin, medium height, not much body hair, straight and black head hair, a small amount of facial hair, and an epicanthic fold. Nevertheless, in South Asia and on the offshore islands many more people do not have an epicanthic fold than do. Similarly, "Mongoloids" are assigned a broad, low-bridged nose; however, a significant percentage of Chinese and Japanese have a narrow, high-bridged nose. Downs and Bleibtreu conclude that the "most valid generalization about racial distinctions is that man is extremely variable" (151).

They also argue that an error is made in attempting to equate cultural and political affiliations with biological traits, as exemplified by the grouping "American." Theoretically, people are American if they gain United States citizenship and are culturally American if they speak English and subscribe to certain values, attitudes, and behavior patterns. But there is no American "race." Unfortunately, throughout American history, assumptions about racial categories have made important differences in how people live, work, and view themselves and their roles in their respective communities (Hershey 1993). One of many examples illustrating this, involving "Mongoloids," occurred during the 1920s when Armenians, living in the state of Washington, were forbidden to own property because they were "Mongoloids" and not "Caucasians." This classification was based on their "rounded brachycephalic heads," and was considered proof of their being "Mongoloids" (Barkan 1992: 84).

Another incident involving immigrants to the United States that shows the power of racial classifications and textual definitions involves the Kalmyk-Americans. In 1951 Kalmyk refugees in the United States were refused naturalization because it was determined that their "blood was found to be predominantly that of the Kalmuk race" and, therefore, they were "not members of the white race" (US Department of Justice 1953: 275). The reason for this, according to the Assistant Commissioner who made the decision was that such sources as the Encyclopedia Britannica and the Dictionary of Races and Peoples convincingly showed that the Kalmyks could not be

considered "white people" (276). In an appeal, however, it was decided that, as such "racial groups" as Syrians, Arabs, and Afghans had been counted as "white people," the Kalmyks "of southeastern European Russia are members of the white or so-called European race, in spite of their Asiatic origin" (278). In overturning the original decision, the appeals board appeared to be particularly swayed by the Kalmyks' long period of residence in Russia, that many spoke Russian "and knew very little of the Kalmuk language," and that there had been a good deal of intermarriage between Russians and Kalmyks in "European Russia." These factors were persuasive enough, somehow, to extract them from the "Mongolian" racial category and place them in the "white" category, further indicating how important cultural, linguistic, and political affinities enter into equations of race.

Westerners Further Describe And Classify Mongols

The global expansion of European power in the fifteenth through the nineteenth centuries brought Westerners in close contact with peoples and cultures that were beyond the Western pale. This engendered considerable speculation about an entire host of "humanistic" questions involving issues such as "race" (Bishop 1989: 27-28). One of the more entrancing imaginings involving the Mongols and the origins of humanity was offered in 1806 by John Barrow, who had been private secretary to the Earl of Macartney and one of his suite as Ambassador from the King of Great Britain to the Emperor of China. In the grandiloquently entitled Travels in China, Containing Descriptions, Observations, and Comparisons, Made and Collected in the Course of a Short Residence at the Imperial Palace of Yuen-Min-Yuen, and of a Subsequent Journey Through the Country From Peking to Canton, Barrow proved equally creative in venturing assumptions about man's origins. As the highest mountains in the world were in "Tartary," this was where Noah and his ark landed when the flood subsided (432). Later, "Noah, separating from his rebellious family,

traveled with a part of his offspring into the east, and founded the Chinese monarchy" (433).

Global travelers' reports were consequential in formulating eighteenth- and nineteenth-century "scientific" racial categories. Often of a natural history bent, travelers frequently went to some lengths to characterize what they deemed to be novel in the peoples they encountered. This was part of a larger quest for an Other that was, simultaneously, everything the observer was and was not. Visions of the Mongols as moral and physical reprobates, for example, could have been renditions of certain individuals and segments of Western societies, if a word was changed here and there to camouflage geography. By positing that such scurrilous descriptions represented the norm for entire peoples, Western writers no doubt felt a surge of superiority. To paraphrase Peter Bishop (1989: 8), who focuses on Tibet and Tibetans, Mongolia and Mongols were constantly in the process of being invented. Their silhouettes were always being modified in line with the mutating demands of Western fantasies. Furthermore, entities like "Mongolians" and "Mongolia" not only were the products of such complex interacting social processes as the Foucaultian concept of "truth" and "power," they also contributed to arranging them and imparting to them a certain clarity.

Perhaps the earliest Western writer to provide a physical description of the Mongols based on numerous personal encounters was the Franciscan, John of Plano Carpini (d. 1252), who was dispatched by Pope Innocent IV to the Mongol emperor in an attempt to avert Mongol attack. In his description of his travels to and from the Mongol realms in 1245-1247, this disciple of St. Francis provides a description of the Mongols based on his personal observations that continues to inspire writers who encounter these people³⁹:

[they] are quite different from all other men, for they are broader than other people between the eyes and across the cheek-bones. Their cheeks also are rather prominent above their jaws; they have a flat and small nose, their eyes are little and their eyelids raised up to the eyebrows. For the most part, but with a few exceptions, they are slender about the waist; almost all are of medium height. Hardly any

of them grow beards, although some have a little hair on the upper lip and chin and this they do not trim (in Dawson 1955: 4).

This characterization contrasts sharply with monstrous elements in a description provided nearly half a millennium later by George Louis Leclerc Buffon (1707-1788), who continues to be cited today as a father of the concept of race. In the aspiring Natural History of the Globe, and of Man, Beasts, Birds, Fishes, Reptiles, and Insects, Buffon compresses human diversity outside Western Europe into the categories of Laplanders, Tartars, Chinese, Japanese, Formosans, Moguls, Persians, Arabians, Egyptians, Circassians, Turks, Russians, Negroes, Hottentots, and American Indians. His evaluations of each "variety" are preoccupied with physical appearance, diet, mode of living (such as "wanderers"), housing, and clothing--all of which served to mark the outlanders he describes as peculiar, if not outright monstrous. These categories continue to preoccupy anthropologists in the late twentieth century and raise the question to what extent is it possible for Westerners to understand Others objectively?

Buffon was hardly the first to react this way. Pliny's Natural History had, centuries earlier, for example, delineated a number of races according to the food they ate (Friedman 1981: 27). Inferior in terms of customs, the alien races were also depicted as morally degenerate. Note in Buffon's rendering of the Tartars, which I quote at length, that geography is poorly understood and physical characterization resembles monstrous medieval depictions (Buffon 1831: 163-164):

The TARTAR country, taken in general, comprehends the greatest part of Asia, and in fact extends from Russia to Kamtschatka. In length it occupies from eleven to twelve hundred leagues, and in breadth from seven hundred to seven hundred and fifty, a circumference twenty times larger than that of the whole kingdom of France.

All the Tartar nations have the upper part of the visage very large and wrinkled, even while yet in their youth. Their nose is short and flat, their eyes are little, and sunk in the head; their cheek bones are high; the lower part of their visage is narrow; their chin is long and prominent; their teeth are long and straggling; their eyebrows are so large as to cover the eyes; their eyelids are thick; the face is broad and

flat; their complexion is tawny; and their hair is black. They have but little beard, have thick thighs, and short legs, and, though but of middling stature, they yet are remarkably strong and robust. The ugliest of them are the Calmucks, in whose appearance there seems to be something frightful. They are all wanderers; and their only shelter is that of a tent made of hair or skins. Their food is horse-flesh and camel-flesh, either raw, or a little sodden between the horse and the saddle. They eat also fish dried in the sun. Their most common drink is mare's milk, fermented with millet ground into meal. They all have the head shaved, except a tuft of hair on the top, which they let grow sufficiently long to form into tresses on each side of the face. The women, who are as deformed as the men, wear their hair, which they bind up with bits of copper, and other ornaments of the same nature.

The majority of these tribes are alike strangers to religion, morality, and decency.

Buffon finds color a striking aspect of the human form and attributes its manifold variations to climate. He sees the Mongols as descendants of original white progenitors who, under the degrading influences of unrefined food, a primitive mode of life, and disease, became their monstrous selves. Christopher Dawson (1955: 2) writes that John of Plano Carpini's account of his journey to and from the Mongol realms "was by far the most widely known of all the early accounts of the Mongol," suggesting that Buffon may have been inclined not to use it because it lacked the monstrous elements of other medieval accounts.

Despite the passage of time, certain aspects of Buffon's approach can be found a century and a half later in Paul Theroux's Riding the Iron Rooster (1988). Theroux belongs to a school of travel writers whose works depend upon the fact that they do not like most people they meet, which results in a cataloguing of unpleasant comments about individuals and countries. In a moment of candor, Theroux states that travel writing tells the reader a good deal more about the writer than about the people or place visited. In Theroux's case this appears to be particularly true and nowhere truer than when he deals with the Mongols in the course of a ride on the Trans-Siberian train into Mongolia and then south into China through Inner Mongolia. Whatever preconceptions Theroux may have about the Mongols are given free-rein: the reality of their lives never seems to make much difference. He appears to have decided before

he ever reached Mongolian regions that he was not going to like these places and the people there; consequently, it was easy for him to paint an extreme picture. More practically, to have spent time trying to understand them as they understand themselves would undoubtedly result in a less sensational description displeasing to his editors.⁴⁰

In Theroux's rendering, not only are Mongols "flat-faced," their language is "ducklike," they have "bandy legs," and, in terms of food, his description is more negative than that of Buffon:

The hotel was bare and smelled of mutton fat. That was the smell of Ulan Bator. Mutton was in the air. If there had been a menu, mutton would have been on it. It was served at every meal: mutton and potatoes--gristly mutton and cold potatoes. The Mongolians had a way of making food inedible or disgusting, and they could transform even the most inoffensive meal into garbage, by serving it cold, or sprinkling it with black carrots, or garnishing it with a goat's ear. I made a point of visiting food stores, just to see what was available. I found fat black sausages, shriveled potatoes and turnips, black carrots, trays of grated cabbage, basins of yellow goats' ears, chunks of rancid mutton and chicken feet (58).

Several times a week, in 1992 and 1993, I ate at the Ulaanbaatar Hotel, which was surely where Theroux stayed in 1988. I can report that the hotel was not bare, mutton was not in the air, there were menus, potatoes were not served cold, the mutton was not gristly, Mongol food was not disgusting, and I never saw a goat's ear or chicken feet served as food or for sale the entire time I was in Mongolia. The situation was probably similar for Theroux; however, to have described his time in Mongolia as passable would have been to lose the chance to present a spectacle that travel writing of this genre demands: a time made terrible by awful people and horrible food.

Note also how little the basic ingredients have changed in Buffon's and Theroux's descriptions. Buffon, living in a time when physical monsters were still believed to inhabit parts of the globe can, to some extent, be excused. Theroux cannot. He also cannot be forgiven for later writing of a group of Mongol wrestlers

he had met that "There was something simian in their posture and in the way they walked" (61). Theroux's focusing on Mongol wrestlers is of note because, at various times, American professional wrestlers have chosen a name with "Mongolian" in it for themselves. In 1992, for example, Wrestling News featured a photograph of "The Mongolian Mauler" of Murfreesboro, Tennessee and suggested that he was the most widely traveled wrestler of that time (14-15). The photograph of the "The Mongolian Mauler" reveals a very large man weighing perhaps more than 150 kilograms. Furthermore, the International Tag Team Champions in 1970 and again in 1971 were "The Mongols" (Morgan 1979).

If Theroux had read Buffon, he would probably have agreed that the mystery of why Tartars are "tawny"--likely a reference to the Kalmyks--can be understood by their living alongside white Europeans. In explaining how tawny and fair-skinned people can live side by side, Buffon emphasizes coarse habits spawned by savagery:

Of this difference the reasons seem to be, that the former are always exposed to the air; that they have no towns, no fixed habitations; that they sleep upon the earth, and in every respect live coarsely and savagely. These circumstances alone are sufficient to render them less white than the Europeans, to whom nothing is wanting which may render life comfortable and agreeable (1831: 181-182).

In a similar vein, Buffon, like Theroux, is more kindly disposed to the Chinese than the "Tartars"

because they live in towns, because they are civilized, because they are provided with every expedient for defending themselves from the injuries of the weather, to which the Tartars are perpetually exposed (Buffon 1831: 182).

The effects of climate can thus be overcome through the medicine of "civilized" life, which is capable of producing fair skin, as in the case of Europeans living in propinquity to Mongols. Furthermore, the Chinese, being more civilized than the Tartars, are, consequently, of paler complexion. Buffon's better impressions of the Chinese are in keeping with Western tradition.

An example of this better treatment can be found in Raphael Pumpelly's (1837-1923) writings. When moving north in China into Mongol areas, he senses a

great geographical break between China and Mongolia along the contours of the Great Wall. He reckons that the Chinese had once been nomadic, but moving into a land suited for agriculture necessarily dramatically altered their lives:

The varied gifts of nature, and the necessity of using them; the obstacles offered by man and nature, and the necessity of overcoming them--these were the seeds which were to ripen; and being planted in a land wonderfully adapted to their growth, out of them has arisen, step by step, a civilization which until recently towered above all others (1870: 316-317).

On the other hand, standing on "one of the sharpest boundary lines drawn by nature on our planet"⁴¹ (316), Pumpelly professes that this grassland region is suited only for livestock and their human shepherds:

The habits and status of these wanderers are fixed by nature; there can be no progress, no transition from the nomad life to a higher order of existence, since the very elements of such progress are excluded by the surrounding physical influences (317).

This is one of the clearest statements one can hope to find of the link between the "lack of civilization" and landscape (grasslands), especially when the Mongols are compared to agricultural Chinese.

As long ago as the seventeenth-century, the principal supply of information to Europe about China was the published writings of Jesuit missionaries, which were, for the most part, highly informative and generally sympathetic toward the Chinese and their culture (Mungello 1989: 354). There was no comparable sympathetic source of information flowing into Europe about the Mongols, as the case of the Kalmyks illustrates.

The Kalmyks

Buffon's reference to the Kalmyks deserves some comment because it reflects his correspondence with the Dutch anatomist and phrenologist Petrus Camper (1722-1789). The son of a wealthy clergyman, Camper entered Leyden University at

the age of twelve. A dozen years later, on the same day, he received two degrees--one in philosophy and liberal arts and the other in medicine. Camper traveled periodically in Europe in succeeding years and met many of its leading scientific minds, including Buffon in Paris in 1749, with whom he had already struck up a correspondence. He also met John Hunter (1728-1793), the famed English doctor. Upon his return to Holland, Camper held a succession of important academic and governmental positions. A prolific writer, his work embraced a wide range of scientific topics (Ten Doesschate 1962). Camper's anatomical work was so important that as late as 1915 he was honored, in a college textbook on morphology and anthropology, for "anticipating the soundest and most productive methods of modern physical anthropology" (Duckworth 1915: 3). Duckworth's review of Camper's work in the textbook is accompanied by drawings "of the head and skull of a young Orang-utan and a negro" (3).

As one of the first scientists to delve into comparative anatomy, Camper is of definite interest to our inquiry. His collection of bones included a Kalmyk skull, reflecting his curiosity in observing antique busts. From this research he concluded that large foreheads convey a sense of dignity and elevation. After repeated measurements he devised a formula that, he argued, showed intelligence. It is surely no surprise to learn that the antique busts earned the highest number, followed by Europeans, Kalmyks, and Negroes.⁴² As the number decreased, the "proportional stupidity of expression in the countenance of the latter nations" increased (Prichard 1813: 47-48). It is likely that Buffon was aware of Camper's work with the Kalmyk skull, which influenced the impressions recorded above.⁴³

The ancestors of the Kalmyks had departed what is present-day Northwest China and reached the vast steppes between the Urals and the Volga's lower reaches in the 1630s. In the ensuing decades, the Volga Kalmyks nomadized close to both urban and rural Russian settlements. With encampments in the European part of Russia, they were the most accessible Mongols to European explorers and travelers (Bormanshinov 1988a: 5). Just how Camper came to have his Kalmyk skull, and to

what extent he associated the Kalmyks with the Mongols, remain mysteries. It is reasonable to assume that the skull was taken from the Volga area by a European. References to Camper's Kalmyk skull continued to sprinkle the literature many decades later. For example, Arthur de Gobineau in a tract on The Inequality of Human Races (1853) spends a good deal of time discussing Camper's Kalmyk skull (108-109) and offers a particularly unattractive description of Mongolians (106).

Representations of the Kalmyk from the late eighteenth century continuing through the nineteenth century run the gamut from monstrous to positive. Peter Simon Pallas (1741-1811) wrote a History of the Mongole Tribes that helped permanently to separate "Mongol" from "Tartar." It also deals with the Kalmyks giving "circumstantial details of their constitution, modes and vicissitudes of life, religious superstition, and idolatry" (1812: 117). In Travels Through the Southern Provinces of The Russian Empire in the Years 1793-1794, Pallas included several drawings of Kalmyks, which depict

a Kalmuk of the lower class, and a priest of that nation, in their peculiar dresses. . . . In order to gratify physiognomists, I have added, by way of supplement, in the fourth vignette, the profiles of two girls, one of the real Mongole race, and the other of the Kalmuks, both of which are very exact delineations of these two kindred nations (Pallas 1812: 117-118).

Pallas included another sketch of Kalmyk clothing (1794: 209) featuring a woman and a man posed as Europeans. Only the clothing tells us they are not. The drawings are striking for their portrayal of ordinary Kalmyks for the benefit of a scientific audience and in other than "monstrous" guise.

A description at the other end of the spectrum was offered by a contemporary, Edward Daniel Clarke (1769-1822), in his narrative of his perambulations across Russia, Tartary, and Turkey:

They were quite naked, and with skins perfectly black. . . .

Of all the inhabitants of the Russian empire, the Calmucks are the most distinguished by peculiarity of feature, and manners. In their personal appearance, they are athletic, and very forbidding. Their hair is coarse and black; their language harsh and guttural. They inhabit

Thibet, Bucharia, and the countries lying to the north of Persia, India, and China; but, from their vagrant habits, they may be found in all the southern parts of Russia, even to the banks of the Dnieper. The Cossacks alone esteem them, and intermarry with them. This union sometimes produces women of very great beauty; although nothing is more hideous than a Calmuck. High, prominent, and broad cheek-bones; very little eyes, widely separated from each other; a flat and broad nose; coarse, greasy, jet black hair; scarcely any eye-brows; and enormous, prominent ears; compose no very inviting portrait.

Their women are uncommonly hardy; and on horseback outstrip their male companions in the race. The stories related of their placing pieces of horse-flesh under the saddle, in order to prepare them for food, are perfectly true. They acknowledged that it was a common practice among them on a journey, and that a steak so dressed became tender and palatable (1811: 194).

Clarke's description may have been intended to titillate a Western audience by emphasizing imagined monstrous elements well-known to Europeans. Kalmyk women might be beautiful, but only if a parent was a Cossack, who, being white, was capable, as full-blooded Kalmyk parents were not, of transmitting beauty. The familiar category of food also appears in the observation that the Kalmyk did eat flesh placed under the saddle and had a diet consisting of "the grossest animal food of all kinds, without admixture of vegetable diet, without bread, or any of the fruits of the earth" (197).

Europe was to encounter the Kalmyks more personally in 1814 during the Franco-Russian War. Three Kalmyk cavalry regiments, in the ranks of the Russian army, pursued the retreating French and allied armed forces. With the Russian forces they liberated Warsaw, Prussia, and other German states. On March 30, 1814, they triumphantly entered Paris. Bormanshinov, a Kalmyk-American, tells us that the appearance of the Kalmyks in Paris "caused, at first, a great deal of fear and apprehension and provoked curiosity" (1988a: 5). It can be ventured that the specter of a "Mongol horde" entering the heartland of Europe, even at this date, conjured up memories of the seemingly invincible thirteenth-century Mongolian war machine rolling across Europe.

The theme of Mongol hordes find expression in a science fiction short story published in 1946 by Paul A. Carter (1926-), who in 1982 was a history professor at the University of Arizona and the author of several books on the United States during the 1920s and a lengthy study of major themes in modern science fiction. "The Last Objective" is set on earth at a time when war has raged for a generation. The earth's surface is pounded constantly by nuclear explosions and man's only recourse is to construct giant tunneling machines and continue the fight in a subterranean setting. The heroes are white men, probably American given that "New Chicago" is mentioned. While tunneling, the machine housing the heroes encounters an enemy ship. The identity of the latter is never made clear, other than its being "Asiatic," a designation presented in stereotypical ways. An "Asiatic" gunner, for example, "squats crosslegged" and sweat runs down his "yellow face." After a heated battle, the enemy's machine is captured and boarded. The enemy soldiers are all dead--either killed by our heroes or by some mysterious cause. The commander is found dead "slumped on a bloodstained silken cushion." He has "committed honourable suicide with a replica of an ancient Japanese samurai sword."

Messages are found in "written Asiatic" and, at another time, in "Oriental characters." A translation of the message reveals it is from "Supreme Headquarters in Mongolia." It explains that Secret Weapon X-39 has been found to be uncontrollable and is infecting the Asiatic armies around the world. Shortly after that the protagonists become pools of "sticky yellow fluid," which befits an infection emanating from a "yellow race," dripping through floor gratings as they are infected with X-39. The extinction of all humanity seems certain from an infection that originated in Mongolia and brings death to "New Chicagoans" in the same way that the Mongol hordes originating in the heart of Asia brought death to Europeans.

One of the many calamities Mongols continue to be blamed for is the introduction of the plague into Europe. Robert Marshall (1993), for example, writes under the heading "The Black Death: A Gift From Central Asia," that "Nothing ever perpetuated by Genghis, or any of his offspring, compared with the death toll caused

by this disease" (240).⁴⁴ Carter may have been inspired by some formulation of this argument in positing the origin of a new plague from Mongolia. The confusion in ethnic and geographical designations is also of significance. The message describing Secret Weapon X-39 is not written in Chinese, Japanese, or Korean, but simply "Asiatic" or "Oriental." The enemy commander, who may not have been Japanese, kills himself with a Japanese sword. Carter thus defines "Mongolia," as "Asia," "yellow skinned," and as a vague geographical entity at the heart of Asia, the fountain from which "Asiatics" spring.

Travelers, who were more real than the population of Carter's underground world, furnished reports that, along with the researches of Camper and his colleagues, informed much of James Cowles Prichard's (1786-1848) Researches into the Physical History of Mankind. The son of well-educated Quakers, Prichard⁴⁵ made good use of the opportunities his position as a physician provided to study questions concerning race. De Humani Generes Varietate, his doctoral dissertation, completed in 1808 at the University of Edinburgh, was a prelude to a number of published studies in the next four decades on the issue of race. In his portrayal of the Mongols, Prichard relies on Pallas for historical-cultural background and on Camper's Kalmyk skull for commentary on Kalmyk intelligence and development. The Kalmyk, construed as intermediate between the European and Negro, are said to have greater provision "in the conformation of the head for the perfection of the senses, and less proportionably for the evolution of the intellectual organ, than in Europeans" (Prichard 1826: 53).

The phrenological writings of this era give an overwhelming impression of being not too far removed from treatises on reading tea leaves and the literature of palmistry. Lines and cracks were assigned meaning to allow writers to reach the conclusion they were inclined to make.⁴⁶ Prichard, who has been called the father of English anthropology, divines that the Kalmyks have a more acute sense of smell than the Europeans, which jibes with the general belief that lower mammals possess superior abilities to hear and smell. Europeans, as higher creations, have a larger brain and, therefore, are more intelligent.

In describing the appearance of the Mongol, Prichard emphasizes a flat face shaped like a lozenge,

broad below the eyes, with the orbits deviating somewhat from the straight line owing to the high and outward projection of the cheek bones. The stature is small and the form ungraceful. The whole figure of the Mongole is more unlike the European than that of any tribe of Negroes. The complexion varies from a tawny white, to a swarthy, or dusky yellow or copper colour. The hair is perfectly black even in new-born children. All this class of men are remarkable for baldness or scanty production of hair (1826: 544-545).

Two points beg attention regarding this description. First, the problems inherent in racial categories are acknowledged: certain "Negroes" more closely resemble Europeans than do Kalmyks, contradicting the theory that, as Kalmyks are Mongol, they should more closely resemble Europeans. Secondly, the Kalmyks have now become bald, echoing Buffon's earlier description.

Johann Friedrich Blumenbach (1752-1840)

With this as background, we now turn to a key formulation of the concept of race espoused by Blumenbach. To him must go the dubious honor of originating the concept of "Mongol" as a broad racial category that continues to abide. In reviewing previous works in the field of human variation, Blumenbach cites Buffon's Tartar category that, he argues, is flawed. He reduces the number of races to five, including the three core ones--the Caucasian, the Mongol, and the Ethiopian. These are, in fact, color categories, that is, white, brown, and black. Blumenbach's work on race was the most detailed and best argued of its time, and had a lasting impact. He believed that differences in human varieties are not of a magnitude that would deny that all men are related. In his view the first *Homo sapiens* were white but over time many of their descendants degenerated into such races as the Ethiopian. In employing skin color as an indication of the degree of degeneracy, he differs little from Buffon.

Blumenbach's discussion of the "Mongolian variety," in comparison to Buffon's, is less geographically oriented, and has lost much of the fanciful:

Mongolian variety. Colour yellow; hair black, stiff, straight and scanty; head almost square; face broad, at the same time flat and depressed, the parts therefore less distinct, as it were running into one another; glabella flat, very broad; nose small, apish; cheeks usually globular, prominent outwardly; the opening of the eyelids narrow, linear; chin slightly prominent. This variety comprehends the remaining inhabitants of Asia (except the Malays on the extremity of the trans-Gangetic peninsula) and the Finnish populations of the cold part of Europe, the Lapps, &c, and the race of Esquimaux, so widely diffused over North America, from Behring's straits to the inhabited extremity of Greenland (265-266).

This is the same as what was formerly called, though in a vague and ambiguous way, the Tartar variety, which denomination has given rise to wonderful mistakes in the study of the varieties of mankind which we are now busy about. So that Buffon and his followers, seduced by that title, have erroneously transferred to the genuine Tartars, who beyond a doubt belong to our first variety, the racial characters of the Mongols, borrowed from ancient authors, who described them under the names of Tartars (1795: 269-270).

Unlike Buffon's use of Tartar, which suggests a group of people with distinct habits, Blumenbach employs the term to designate brown-skinned people, an intermediary category between whites and blacks. Blumenbach is also conscious of the Kalmyk skull:

J. B. de Fischer⁴⁷ has published a drawing of a Calmuck skull, and it is ugly, and nearly approaches a square in shape, and in many ways testifies to barbarism. But this single example shows how unfair it is to draw conclusions as to the conformation of a whole race from one or two specimens. For Pallas describes the Calmucks as men of a symmetrical, beautiful, and even round appearance, so that he says their girls would find admirers in cultivated Europe. Nor do the said skulls answer to the two very accurate representations of that Calmuck, a boy of eleven years old, who lately came from Russia with the court of Darmstadt, drawings of whom I received from Carlsruhe. They represent a young man of handsome shape, lofty forehead, and eye-brows; and whose face agrees in this respect with the description of Pallas, and diverges from the skull in question, that the mouth

makes nearly an equilateral triangle with the eyes furthest from it, which brings out the head round instead of square (116-117).

Blumenbach's commendable skepticism concerning de Fischer's square Kalmyk skull, and the ugliness of Kalmyks, emphasizes the tendency to read into skull shapes and lines what the observer wishes.

Other Mongol Accounts

The ideas just set forth formed a defining base for the "Mongol" racial category cited in the coming decades. Robert Chambers (1802-1871) followed Blumenbach in distinguishing five categories of human beings related to one another in terms of developmental stages: Negro, Malay, American, Mongolian, and Caucasian. This theory argues that, given enough time, Negroes become Caucasian. The shape of the Mongolian face and lack of facial hair led Chambers to insist that "The Mongolian is an arrested infant newly born" (Chambers 1844: 307).

A most striking picture of the Mongols was put forward by Lieutenant Colonel Charles Hamilton Smith (1776-1859). He distinguishes the "Mongolic type" based on its facial angle and the fact that the tear ducts are concealed by the upper lid, which he disingenuously compares to a similar structure found in ruminants at high altitudes. Besides calling the Kalmyks "black," echoing Clarke, Smith furnishes a protracted description of Mongol character. The Mongol is physically weak, he insists, lacking sexual drive, cruel and given to torture, obstinate, savage, lazy, imitative rather than inventive, tasteless, a gluttonous omnivore, filthy, dishonest, of a vacant mind, shamanistic and given to demon worship, insolent, possessed of monosyllabic languages, and what they know of social advancement is either borrowed from foreign sources or the work of indigenous Caucasian elements (Smith 1852: 271-273).

Smith adds that the Mongols ceaselessly import female Caucasian slaves (one wonders why, given their "lack of sexual drive"). The fact that little is evident of the Caucasian in the Mongols is due to "The lower innervation and consequent deadly

apathy, in the relations of humanity" (281). By arguing that the Mongols are degenerate physical specimens, it follows that they are also degenerate morally. This furnishes added grounds for Western colonization. Smith believes that an ancient Caucasian people had once occupied part of Mongolia and, now that the Mongolic stock had become stationary, they are easily giving way before

energetic cultivators. It is exemplified in this case by the gradual reaction, which sends the Caucasian eastward to recover the debatable ground. After 1800 years of conflict, he has already regained a great portion of the original seat of the Hyperborean type (Smith 1852: 282).

During this period, America provided a home for the theories of Britains using "Mongol" to designate a racial category. *The Races of Men: A Fragment*, written by Robert Knox (1791-1862), a professor of anatomy at the Edinburgh College of Surgeons, and first published in Philadelphia in 1850, is typical of general statements about Mongols:

The Chinese, Mongol, Calmuck, and Tartar, and all or most of those tribes and races which either inhabit the vast steppes of Asia, extend over the Himalayan range, or wander by the shores of the icy seas northward from Siberia, from the north of the Obi to the furthest land claimed in Asia by the Muscovite, belong to the dark races of men; of these races the Mongol was once the most powerful; his reign was that of terror and desolation for the rest of mankind (Knox 1969: 185).

The Chinese, Mongols, Kalmyks, and Tartars are called "tribes and races" and, in the author's mind, inhabit a characteristically poorly understood Asian land mass. China is occupied by a Mongolian race, further muddling what is meant by "race." Knox predicts that Australia, populated by Anglo-Saxons, who swept the indigenous Tasmanians "entirely from the land of his birth," will follow the example of the Americans, who "will not allow a black man to be a free man" (Knox 1969: 186). He foresees a time when the Australians or Russians will overwhelm China and Japan and deal with their native populations similarly. As America had rolled across the continent subduing native populations, so is Australia destined to act in China. Inhabitants of the "Mongolian" race are foreordained to experience a similar fate.

Professor Louis Agassiz of Harvard University contributed a treatise on "Natural Provinces of the Animal World and Their Relation to the Different Types of Man" to a volume titled Types of Mankind: or Ethnological Researches Based Upon the Ancient Monuments, Paintings, Sculptures, and Crania of Races and Upon Their Natural, Geographical, Philological, and Biblical History. In this work, edited by the president of the Academy of Natural Sciences in Philadelphia, Agassiz wishes to show that

the boundaries, within which the different natural combinations of animals are known to be circumscribed upon the surface of our earth, coincide with the natural range of distinct types of man (Agassiz 1854: lviii).

In a series of sketches, he depicts not only the humans of certain regions, but also the animals they live with. The Mongolian race is defined as including residents of Japan, China, Mongolia, and the Caspian and is grouped with the Tibetan bear, musk-deer, Mongolian goat, argli,⁴⁸ and the yak. Agassiz's argument that animal forms, including man, differ from one region to another seems to have attracted little attention, perhaps because it lacks evidence to bolster racist theories as well as a fantastic hue.

Charles Darwin was also familiar with these racial ideas. In The Descent of Man, for example, he cites Prichard, Pallas, and Blumenbach with a brief reference to the Mongols and their "wonderfully perfect senses; and Prichard believes that the great breadth of their skulls across the zygomas follows from their highly-developed sense-organs" (Darwin 1871: 420).

Mongols in the Twentieth Century

"Mongol" as a racial designation was constructed out of a belief in a geographical landscape abounding in monstrous Mongols populating Asia in huge hordes. Accordingly, it became a legitimate label for much of humankind. Meanwhile, it was also employed to refer to ethnic Mongols until Blumenbach, informed by Pallas' Mongolian history, reasoned that ethnic Mongols were made up of the Kalmyk,

Buryat, and others and were confined to Central Asia. He faced a dilemma. Using the categories of white, brown, and black as racial designations seemed unscientific. By using the terms Caucasoids, Mongoloids, and Negroids his classification appeared more scientific, while still conforming to the unwritten rule that racial terms should reflect skin color. "Mongol" thus came, with the exceptions of the American Indian and Malay "varieties," to mean "brown-skinned peoples." It was now a term encompassing virtually all Asians.

From this time to today, little new has been added to the concept of what forms a basic racial category, although ideas have changed about the aptitudes and abilities of those placed in certain clusters. This is not to disavow the considerable confusion that existed, say, at the beginning of the twentieth century, when the term "race" was employed to allude to geographical, religious, class-based, and color based groupings (Barkan 1992: 2). Nevertheless, the view that skin color and facial features can be used to place members of *Homo sapiens* into three broad categories--white, black, and brown/Mongolian was and is powerful. This notion is little different from the broad groupings suggested by Blumenbach in the late eighteenth century.

In reporting the heated controversy over Charles Murray and Richard Herrnstein's The Bell Curve, for example, Newsweek devotes a full page black-and-white-photo to three children standing in a row in front of a building (Blackford 1994: 52). On the left is a very black boy looking off-camera. In the middle stands a little girl, the shortest of the three, with physical features clearly meant to represent the "Mongolian variety"; she has well expressed epicanthic folds, a round face, and a generous nose. Gazing directly at the camera to the right end stands a boy, who has very white skin and light-colored hair. The photo was either staged or selected to represent "extreme" types of the three basic racial categories that figure so prominently in The Bell Curve.

The term "extreme type" is consciously selected because it has been employed deliberately in the literature. Coon, Garn, and Birdsell (1950), for example, use it in describing the Tungus:

The Tungus are members of the Mongoloid race. Some of them are the most extreme Mongoloids in the world. This means that they have not only short, thick-set bodies. . . but also flat faces, slitty, fat-lidded eyes, coarse, black hair which is nearly straight, and scanty beard and body hair. The presence of the world's most Mongoloid people at the pole of cold suggests that Mongoloids are adapted to cold as Immanuel Kant suggested in 1775 (65-66).

The authors also add that the Tungus' "principal concern is to keep from freezing their faces when out of doors" (66). Similarly, Babun (1969: 27-28) argues that

The most Mongoloid peoples in the world live in the extreme cold of Siberia and the Arctic. . . . In their most intensive form, Mongoloid facial features include fat-padded eyes, covered with a fold over the inner corners (the epicanthic fold); prominent cheekbones, also padded with fat; and a low-bridged nose, often sunken in the root. In extreme cases, the eyeballs protrude forward of the nose.

More recent reference works have stressed similar characteristics in describing the "Mongoloid" race (Davies 1973: 126, Pearson 1985: 180-181, "The Dispersion of Modern Humans" 1992: 389). Although it would be a hard task to offer a comprehensive definition of human beauty during the periods these writers have provided descriptions of "extreme Mongoloids," it is doubtful anyone with protruding eyeballs, slitty fat-padded eyes, a low-bridged sunken nose, cheekbones padded with fat, and a short thick-set body would have been considered beautiful by Western standards. Even if the descriptions provided above are not outright monstrous, they are singularly unattractive from a late-twentieth century perspective on beauty that stresses slenderness, wide eyes, physical height, and a high-bridged nose. The "extreme" or "intense Mongoloid," in physicality, is the opposite of the "Caucasoid." The Cambridge Encyclopedia of Human Evolution ("The Dispersion of Modern Humans 1992: 389), for example, describes Caucasoids as having "fine" "well-developed" hair and "prominent" noses. "Scanty," "fat," "low-bridged," and so forth are characteristics that are only meaningful in comparison to a standard. If the "extreme Mongoloid" was used as a standard, then the descriptions of Caucasoids would not be replete with adjectives that mirror the "prominent" and "well-developed" status of Western nations.

The importance of certain non-Western societies in the late twentieth century in shaping new ideas about beauty is provocatively discussed by Jay McInerney in The New Yorker (1995: 67-71) in an essay on Irena Pantaeva, a twenty-two year old "Siberian Inuit," and her chances of being the next "supermodel." McInerney points out that Irena's commercial success as a fashion model in 1995 reflects a growing American comprehension of Asian markets and a new confidence on the part of Japanese advertisers, who formerly relied on fair-haired women with blue eyes to sell their wares. He also notes the different ideas in the fashion world about whether Irena could be a supermodel. The position that she could never get the "big contracts" is expressed by a Dutch model who maintains that "To be a supermodel, you have to have the big tits and the big hair. . . and every man in America needs to want to fuck you" (70). The implication is that, as Irena is not "white," she does not have such attributes and, therefore, is incapable of exciting the proper degree of lust among the American male population. Thus she would never be at the top of the fashion world.⁴⁹

Despite a generally sympathetic stance toward Irena, her "Siberianess" and the fact that she is a self-defined "Russian Eskimo" constitute an important refrain in the article. We are told that "Irena's people undoubtedly received a violent infusion of Mongolian blood from Genghis Khan's invasions" (69) and her physical description echoes what McInerney perceives to be the defining characteristics of the geography of her home: "the burnished disk of her round face glowing with fresh makeup atop implausible long limbs," "the broad steppes of" her cheeks, "broad cheekbones," and "deerlike limbs."

There is also confusion in the literature as to just what "Mongolian" designates. For example, Valenzuela *et al.* (1991), in a study of a dominant or major seasonal factor producing winter peak of menarche, uses the term "Mongolian" in varying ways. Chileans were defined as "a Caucasian Amerindian (ancient Mongolian) people" (390). Later, however, the categories "Caucasians," "Mongolians," and "Chileans" are used. Variations of the term "Mongol" are also very much alive in scientific literature and have come to denote "Asian." For example, Goedde *et al.*

(1992) in their study of the distribution of certain genotypes among "Mongoloids, Caucasoids, and Negroids" use "Mongoloid" to designate a group comprised of Chinese, Japanese, Korean, Thais, Filipinos, and Malays. Similarly, in a study of "Mongoloid-Caucasoid Differences in Brain Size From Military Samples" Rushton (1991) uses "Mongoloid" to mean Thai, Vietnamese, and South Korean.

Relatedly, popular depictions evoking "Mongol" emphasize the racial nature of the term. An example of how a "Mongol" has likely entered nearly every American home for the last century involves pencils. The success of the Koh-I-Nor pencil in the late nineteenth century, marketed by the American company of the same name, led other manufacturers to choose such names as "Mongol" for their own products. Pencils were painted yellow to suggest "the Oriental source of the finest graphite" then available (Petroski 1990: 162).⁵⁰ "Mongol" pencils proved to be such a commercial success that an Eberhard Faber Mongol No. 2, sharpened to a finger-pricking point, appeared on the company's letterhead in 1932 floating proudly in a cloud (Petroski 1990: 290). Yellow "Mongol" pencils continue to be sold today. Had good quality graphite been found in another part of the world, it is likely a color other than yellow would have been chosen.

In another example of a popular depiction, James Clavell's Whirlwind features a Central Intelligence Agency agent who is half Vietnamese and half American. He meets a British intelligence operative, who, "if he hadn't been told otherwise, he would have thought him part Mongol or Nepalese or Tibetan, for the CIA man was dark-haired with a yellowish skin and Asian eyes and dressed like a nomad" (327). What occurs is an attempt to thrust a person into some recognizable category; hair and skin color, eyes, and clothing are the characteristics measured in this instance. And, as with the scientific literature, "Mongol," "Nepalese," and "Tibetan" as separate entities have been conflated. The one category that, for Clavell, has endured unchanged is "American" which, in context, means "white person."

Immigration and Exclusion

Mongolian Hordes Technique: n. Development by gang bang (poss. from the Sixties counterculture expression "Mongolian clusterfuck" for a public orgy).

Implies that large numbers of inexperienced programmers are being part of a job better performed by a few skilled ones. Also called "Chinese army technique" ("Mongolian Hordes Technique" 1996).

...the white American fear of the Yellow Peril has its roots among Europeans who survived a Mongol whirlwind from the Gobi Desert seven centuries ago (Wu 1982: 11).

Uses of "Mongol" and its variants in immigration and citizenship exclusion debates, in the late nineteenth century and well into the twentieth century, illustrate how racial category figured into social controversies. William Wu's study of Chinese Americans in American fiction in the years 1850 to 1940 convincingly depicts how Western images of the Mongols, particularly the "Yellow Peril," shaped the portrayal of Chinese immigrants and their descendants in the United States. In his 1982 study, Wu points out that after the Mongol invasions of Europe and rule in Russia, Westerners and East Asians did not meet again to dwell in the same land until "they both entered the Pacific Coast of the United States from opposite directions" (10). He further suggests that European monks, describing their encounters with the Mongols, mentioned three issues surprisingly similar to arguments put forward by white Californians who objected to the Chinese presence in the nineteenth century. The monks claimed that the Mongols could not be beaten in direct military action, the Mongols were coming in huge numbers, and the Mongols were heathens. This, Wu summarizes, matched the reaction in California that Chinese laborers could not be beaten in direct competition because they worked hard on small wages, Chinese would pour across the Pacific and overwhelm white America, and the "heathen" nature of the Chinese posed a threat to the moral values of the United States.

In 1881, with reference to Chinese immigration, George Frederick Seward⁵¹ responded to such arguments against continued Chinese immigrants to the United States with "There is a danger that we will be Mongolianized" (Seward 1970: 293) and "it will become painfully evident that the Pacific coast must become either American or Mongolian" (294). Similarly, the American Federation of Labor, in 1902, reported that it was "an utter impossibility for our [White] race to compete with the Mongolian" (American Federation of Labor: 18) in working for cheap wages and subsisting under miserable conditions. And in 1925 Kiyusue Inui used the term "Mongolian race" (200) to refer to "Orientals."

These comments were made between 1870-1952 when naturalization legislation expressly limited citizenship to "free white persons" and "persons of African nativity" or "African descent." Furthermore, "members of the Mongolian race" were explicitly designated as "aliens ineligible for citizenship in the United States" (Lyman 1993: 379).⁵² Lyman argues that discrepancies between the racial classification schemes of Blumenbach, Buffon, and Linnaeus, among others, made the courts disinclined to designate precisely how many races existed. Nevertheless, although the categories were not well defined, they were used systematically to deny the petitions of Chinese, Japanese, Koreans, Burmese, Afghans, and Hawaiians for American citizenship (385). One recourse was to devise an argument that petitioners were actually "white" because they had lived close enough and long enough with "white" people that general "white" characteristics had been absorbed.

In reviewing the literature on such debates no clear pattern is immediately obvious about the use of variants of "Mongol," "Oriental," "Chinese," and "Asian" are also used to denote "race." When "Mongolian race" is employed, it seems to suggest, as it had much earlier, a sense of a large population and vaguely understood geography of Asia. Other evidence for this argument may be found in the comments of the science fiction writer Samuel Delany. American science fiction, Delany argues, was helpful in shaping and engineering America's war in Indochina. American pulp science fiction, movies, and comic books were filled with fantasies of super-heroes

and techno wonders that played some role in the decisions of military and political leaders:

A paradigm of the American self-image that helped shape the war might be Buck Rogers--as he uses his manly skills and 25th century technology to lead the good fight against the Mongol hordes--sporting a green beret (Philmus, Lallier, and Copp 1990).

This implies that the Mongols are always available for use when danger comes knocking. In the case of immigration, members of the "Mongolian race" suggested an end to an American way of life which has always rested firmly on the bedrock of "white" culture and "white" people. In the case of images of Indochina resonating in science fiction, it was a collection of fantasies involving race (Asians), enormous numbers of enemies (hordes), and military might (the Mongol war machine) encased in a frame unlimited by the constraints of time and history.

The "race question" in science fiction has been recently addressed and insights provided that are pertinent to the focus of this study. Edward James (1990) has reviewed several science fiction accounts of the nineteenth century using "Yellow Peril" themes that were inspired by the importation of Chinese labor into California. Subsequently, in the late 1920s, Mongols figured prominently in the original version of the Buck Rogers opus that pits Mongolians against "white" people. Kalish and his coauthors (1988) examine just how the initial story changed in "fix-up" versions in which "the blatantly racial slurs are modified to more subtle formulations" (314) that appeared in 1962 and 1978. They point out that "Yellow Blight" becomes "Mongolian Blight" and the mortal combat between "the Yellow and White races" becomes, in the 1962 and 1978 versions, war between "the Mongolian" and "our"/"rebel" forces. While pointing out the confusion in the use of "Mongolian" and "Han" interchangeably to mean "Chinese" and "Asian," the authors do not point out how replacing "Yellow" with "Mongolian" does little to enhance the image of ethnic Mongols in the eyes of the West. They, do however, underscore the importance of the Buck Rogers stories in persuading "readers to accept massacres and racially motivated mass murder"

(315). Mongolians perpetrate horrible crimes against White people that in turn result in a near genocidal massacre of Mongolians.

A truly fascinating exception to this pattern is found in a novel entitled Red Napoleon published in 1929. The author, Floyd Gibbons,⁵³ places the story in the, at that time, future time of 1941. The hero, Karakhan by name, is a Mongol, descended from Chinggis Khan, who bloodily conquers much of the world, including a healthy chunk of the United States. While Gibbons employs many contemporary pejorative stereotypes of Asians, he allows Karakhan to remind readers throughout how people of color have been mistreated:

American males, civilians as well as military, have possessed themselves of the women of American Negroes and of American Indians. The number of half-breeds and quarter-breeds, mulattoes, and octoroons in the population of the United States today testify to the fact (266).

People of color, moreover he insists, are not inferior culturally to White people:

You whites still prattle of your superior civilization. You forget that yellow men and brown men had civilizations vastly superior. Men of yellow skins built the Pyramids, invented gunpowder and paper, founded the sciences of medicine, surgery, higher mathematics, astronomy, algebra, at a time when your white ancestors in Europe were wearing skins, living in skins, and eating raw meat (461).

This leads Karakhan to declare that he is more than just a conqueror, he is a "humanitarian," who commands his men to "CONQUER AND BREED." He argues that only when the people of the world are of the same ancestry will racial divisions dissolve into one human race. At this point humankind can get on with the business of improving the quality of life for its inhabitants. By demonizing Karakhan and Asians ("Mongolians," "Chinks"), Gibbons is able to express his own vision of a more-perfect society in which race is immaterial. In 1928, this was genuinely shocking (Gardner 1976).

Conclusion

Three points can be drawn from "Mongols" as a racial category. First, it has ranged in specificity, but toward the end of the twentieth century it has come to mean what it did to Buffon: those who occupy Asia, with Asia poorly defined. Second, its individual physical criteria has been devised with Caucasian physical criteria as the standard. Third, as a consequence, a none too inviting portrait of "Mongoloids" continues to be supplied. This is particularly true for the "extreme" or "intense" "Mongoloids."

CHAPTER 3

Mongols As Mental Defectives

Mongolian idiocy is not only defamatory. It is wrong on all counts. We no longer classify mental deficiency as a unilinear sequence. Children with Down's syndrome do not resemble orientals to any great extent, if at all. And, most importantly, the name only has meaning in the context of Down's discredited theory of racial reversion as the cause of deficiency. If we must honor the good doctor, then let his name stand as a designation for trisomy-21--Down's syndrome (Gould 1980: 168).

In a chapter entitled "Dr. Down's Syndrome" in The Panda's Thumb Steven Jay Gould begins his explanation of how Down's Syndrome occurs with a description of meiosis, the division of chromosome pairs in sex cell formation. Eggs and sperm each contain one-half of the genetic information of ordinary body cells. During fertilization, combination of the two halves reestablishes the full measure of genetic information and also results in a blend of genes from the two parents. But sometimes things go wrong and the chromosomes refuse to split. This is called "nondisjunction." Both members of a chromosome pair go to one of the sex cells, while, simultaneously, the other sex cell has one chromosome too few. Children born from the union of a normal sex cell with one holding an additional chromosome by nondisjunction carry three copies of that chromosome in every cell, rather than the usual two. This is called a trisomy. Approximately, one child in six hundred to one in one thousand has an extra twenty-first chromosome. The technical name for this condition is "trisomy 21" (1980: 160-161).

This dispassionate description is far removed from the disapproving physical, cultural, and moral descriptions of Mongols, which are part and parcel of what we have discussed thus far. Unfortunately, the term "Mongoloid," used to designate mental retardation, continues to be much used in the literature today. Gould's laudable reprimand, issued fifteen years ago, was part of an effort to dissociate a racial-ethnic term from mental retardation. Established depictions of Mongols as savage uncouth warriors, who are physically monstrous, have harmonized with the concept of "mental defectiveness." After the fourteenth-century collapse of the Mongol empire, the Mongols grew progressively weaker as a nation and increasingly remote in Western consciousness. When a sporadic blip of curiosity in the Mongols on occasion later materialized, thirteenth-century images were reinvented, as the spate of reveal-all travel books (Severin 1991, Becker 1992, Middleton 1992, DeFrancis 1993), frantically written after Mongolia pulled away from the Soviet orbit in the late 1980s, only too well demonstrate.

Variants of "Mongol" used to designate mental disability became fashionable in the late nineteenth century and continue today, though with less bizarre imaginings than before the time that a genetic base was identified as the cause of "Mongolian idiocy." As the discussion of "race" showed, the "Mongolian race" has been seen as degenerate bodily, intellectually, and ethically. This placed it several rungs down the ladder from the top rung where Caucasians stood. This visualization created a receptive audience for depicting mentally disabled individuals as "Mongols." Such people could be eased out of the Caucasian category to protect the superiority of that designation by claiming that they resembled Mongolians, meant here as a racial classification. Mentally disabled Caucasians are not Caucasians at all; they are, instead, atavisms: "Mongols." This had a number of repercussions. One that will be discussed is the medical community's recommending institutionalization of "Mongoloids," that is, the removal of "Mongoloids" from their (Caucasian) families, so that they could be with other "Mongoloids." Relatedly, in an article entitled "Sterilizations in the United States," the Journal of the American Medical Association quoted the ironically

named Birthright Incorporated, "an organization dedicated to fostering, by educational means, a nationwide program of sterilization," in reporting "the sterilization of a total of 20,600 insane, 20,453 feebleminded and 1,563 other individuals" from 1941 to 1944 (1945: 1131). It can be safely assumed that many of the 20,453 "feebleminded" were "Mongoloid idiots." In an era when many would-be immigrants had to prove, for example, that they were Caucasian before legal immigration to the United States was possible, when segregation was common in much of the United States, and when the eugenics movement was strong, this exile of "Mongoloids" to institutions seems hauntingly appropriate.

Two important phenomena mark the "Mongol" literature of this era. The first involves the imagined similarities between "Mongol idiots" and "racial Mongols." Even as the term "Mongol" became widely accepted as most appropriate for trisomy 21, various individuals suggested that the physical resemblance between trisomy 21 people and Mongols was largely fanciful. However, because a racial category that constructed "Mongols" as degenerates already existed, the term could be easily applied to trisomy 21 people. Secondly, the term would not remain in use by people sensitive to "political correctness" if the Mongols were not politically negligible to Western interests. It is impossible to imagine, for example, references to trisomy 21 people in the highest echelons of scientific literature as "Christians," "Muslims," "Republicans," "Caucasians," "English," or "Americans." The study of the creation of this term is, thus, an important investigation into how scientific jargon mirrors social values and prejudices in the era of its creation, gathers enormous power, and then continues to thrive, despite its hurtful consequences.

People With Trisomy 21 And The United States⁵⁴

At various times in American history, a great deal of hope has been expressed for improving the intellect of mentally retarded persons. In 1866, for example, Edward Seguin wrote from New York that

There is a sort of mysterious upheaval of mankind in the way new things spring up, which commands our awe. At a given hour, anything wanted by the race makes its appearance simultaneously from so many quarters. . . . The origin of the methodical treatment of idiots, though apparently of secondary importance, is nevertheless one of these necessary events, coming when needed for the co-ordination of progress (9).

Seguin includes a lengthy excerpt from the Reverend Samuel J. May's address at Syracuse, New York on September 8, 1854, on the occasion of "the laying of the corner-stone of the first school built expressly for idiots in this country" (10-11). May recounts how he had wrestled with the question of "idiocy so appalling in its appearance, so hopeless in its nature; what could be the use of such an evil?" (10) After much writhing, he concludes that researches into this question will lead to the discovery of new information on the "nature of mind" that would benefit the entire human race.

Such idealism continued into the twentieth century. There was the belief, for example, that trisomy 21 people could be improved through the administration of thyroid substances. If the body's chemistry was properly realigned, mental normality could be realized, reasoned a hopeful populace. The eugenics crusade stopped this by depicting such conditions as trisomy 21 as genetic, encouraging the construction of residential institutions for warehousing mentally retarded people, many of whom had trisomy 21.

In 1950 there was a change for the better with the creation of a National Association for Retarded citizens, an outgrowth of successful World War II rehabilitation programs for veterans. These programs had proved the efficaciousness of meaningful therapy and many parents were encouraged enough to lobby on behalf of their children. There was further reason for hope when President Kennedy pressed Congress for innovative approaches in dealing with the mentally disabled in the fields of education and treatment. Simultaneously, there was a growing sentiment among parents of children with trisomy 21 that institutionalization was damaging to their

children. This attitude reflected an increased awareness of how lacking many institutions were.

During this time of profound social change in America, new laws were passed at both the state and national levels. For example, Public Law 94-142 provided free public education for schoolage children who were disabled, including youngsters with trisomy 21. Conditions continued to improve with the creation of the nationwide Down's Syndrome Congress in 1973 and the Down's Syndrome Interest Group of the American Association on Mental Deficiency in 1979.

Just how much progress certain people with Down's syndrome have made, as compared to the time when they were labeled "hopeless idiots" is evident from a letter written in 1995 to Harper's Magazine by two couples, each with a Down's syndrome son. Refusing to institutionalize their sons in the early 1970s, despite the advice given by the professionals they consulted, they began a program of early-intervention. In 1995 both sons were in their twenties. One was living independently, while both gave speeches and interviews on radio and television in an effort to eradicate the "negative stereotypes and misconceptions that continue to surround Down syndrome" (Kingsley *et al.*: 4-5).

Language

Reference works show the strong link between Mongols as a people and mental deficiency. In the following citations, I have selected those relating the term and mental deficiency. Some selected terms also allude to a racial category.

Madman. (1) "Idiot, congenital idiot, natural, cretin, moron, mongolian idiot" ("Madman").

Mong. (1) A mongrel dog. (2) Children's pejorative term, short for mongoloid ("Mong").

Mongie. Dull, stupid ("Mongie").

Mongoloid. (1) "The term *mongoloid* (not capitalized in this sense) was formerly much used in reference to the Down syndrom. This usage is not recommended" ("Mongoloid"a). (2) "Characteristic of or

resembling a mongol or mongolism" ("Mongoloid"b). (3) "Of, relating to, or affected with Down's syndrome" ("Mongoloid"c).

Mongol. (1) "A person with Down Syndrome. An imprecise and outmoded term" ("Mongol" a). (2) "A person afflicted with mongolism" ("Mongol" c). (3) "One affected with Down's syndrome" ("Mongol" d). (4) "A person born with a weakness of the mind and a broad flattened head and face and sloping eyes" ("Mongol" b).

Mongolian. (1) "Characterized by mongolism or the Down syndrome. An obsolete and incorrect usage" ("Mongolian" a). (2) "Applied to a person born with the condition known as Mongolism" ("Mongolian" b). (3) "Mongoloid" ("Mongolian" c).

Mongolianism. "Down's syndrome" ("Mongolianism").

Mongolism. (1) "An outmoded term for Down syndrome. Translocation mongolism. An outmoded term for Translocation Down syndrome" ("Mongolism" b). (2) "A relatively common congenital form of mental deficiency which is associated with a low expectation of life, is always accompanied by a chromosomal abnormality (usually trisomy for chromosome 21), and is marked by numerous signs, including short stature, short thick hands and feet, a large tongue, a flat face with features somewhat similar to those of Mongolians, and a friendly and cheerful disposition; Mongolian idiocy" ("Mongolism" e). (3) "Down's syndrome" ("Mongolism" g). (4) "A congenital idiocy in which a child is born with a short flattened skull, slanting eyes, and other anomalies." ("Mongolism" a).

Mongolization. "The act or process of mongolizing" ("Mongolization").

Mongolize. (1) "To make Mongolian in racial relationship or characteristics by an admixture of Mongolian blood <mongolized Tartars>." (2) To furnish (a country) with or allow a significant increase in population belonging to the Mongolian race" ("Mongolize").

What do these terms and their corresponding definitions really say? Being Mongol symbolizes inferiority, both in intellect, in terms of "race," and in physical attributes. Who would want, for instance, to have the blood of a group of people whose very name *means* "a person born with a weakness of the mind and a broad flattened head and face replete with sloping eyes?" Could a less appealing portrait be

conjured up? Furthermore, it would be disingenuous to suggest that a person immersed in the English language for any length of time could hear a variant of the term "Mongol" and not associate it with one of the connotations listed above. For example, in John Greenfield's Short Story Index: 1994 there is no reference for "Mongol" or "Mongolian." Instead the entry "Mongolism (Disease) See Down's syndrome" (1995: 171) appears.

In an era of political correctness, Jessica Smith wrote a one-page article entitled "Letter From Moron" for the Far Eastern Economic Review (1990: 40). The Mongol word for "river" is similar to *moron*, which, in the article, refers to a town of 20,000 in Mongolia's northern Khovsgol Province. Like many articles about Mongolia, composed after initial Western interest in its declaration of independence from Soviet-style communism had greatly diminished, she indulges in the predictable categories of religious exotica, sensationalism, and an attempt to depict as comic in Mongolia what appears outlandish to Western sensitivities. Yellow Sect Buddhism, violent communist purges, Stalin, monasteries, the Dalai Lama, and Tibet are all evoked, along with a photograph of three aged monks seated in religious clothing above a droll caption reading "Time to bone up on their scripture."

Smith's use of "moron" is predictable, given her text's tone. It would have been an uncomplicated matter to have spelled this word "Mörön," which is the spelling utilized by the Hammond World Atlas (N.d.: 46, 54, 158). To have done so, however, would not have associated Mongols and mentally disabled individuals. Smith also does not bother informing her readers what the English translation of "moron" is. It might have lessened the impact of the image she wishes to convey with the term. It is reasonable to conclude that the title was selected willfully; more disturbingly, no editor on the staff of the Far Eastern Economic Review saw fit to change it. It is not necessary to consider if this respected journal would have published a title denigrating black, Islamic, or Tibetan sensibilities. It should also be pointed out that there were no letters to the editor decrying this association between an ethnic group and a dearth of mental ability. This was due partially to the absence of a large Mongol community

in the West that could protest such ethnic maligning. The fact that a major Western business news journal would not pause to employ a connection between "mental deficiency" and the Mongols as a way of popularizing its offerings suggest that, for Westerners in 1990, it was still "politically correct" to evoke ethnic slurs, if expressed cautiously and the group so depicted were powerless and negligible to Western interests. This argument is further supported by Jasper Becker's treatment of the same word in The Lost Country: Mongolia Revealed. Becker writes that when he arrived "there was still time to enjoy Mohron. As the name suggested its residents lived a life of dull inanity" (1992: 156). He also refers to residents of Mörön as "Mohrons" (157).

The Canadian linguist Robert I. Binnick, in the introduction to a detailed transformational syntax of contemporary Mongol, writes:

To most people the name 'Mongolia' conjures up, if anything, an image of Mongolian hordes, of the vast Gobi, of Marco Polo, or of Roy Chapman Andrews.⁵⁵ Even to scholars of Asia it is little more than the homeland of the Yuan dynasty⁵⁶ (1979: xvi).

To Smith, "Mongols" conjure up "morons," and two American poets, soon to be examined, employ identical colorings. There is no mention of Marco Polo, the vast Gobi, or Roy Chapman Andrews in their creations. Why does Binnick not mention this? Why this loud echoing silence on Mongols as "Mongoloids," that is, as "mental defectives?" The most probable rejoinder is that appellations, once bestowed, cannot free themselves from the social landscape of their creation and the attitudes of their users. Thus, an examination of these negative connotations would be embarrassing and onerous because names embody ideas and attitudes.

"Mongoloids" In Literature

Katherine Ann Porter's (1890-1980) short story "He" illustrates just how disconcerting discussions of Mongols as "Mongoloids" can be. Like many of Porter's stories, the setting is the rural American South. An impoverished couple has three children. The second child is only called "He." Being deprived of normal intelligence,

he receives no real name. Although his mental deficiency is never named, Down's Syndrome may well have been what Porter had in mind. He is covered with "rolls of fat," is twice as strong as the other children, climbs trees "like a monkey, just like a regular monkey," and though he learns a few words, he soon forgets them and is left to "blubbering," "sniveling," and "gulping."

The main character, He's mother, loves this child more than her other two sons, perhaps to balance neighbors' comments: "A Lord's pure mercy if He should die," "It's the sins of the father," "There's bad blood and bad doings somewhere, you can bet on that."⁵⁷ At the same time, she demonstrates no reluctance in appropriating a blanket from He's bed for one of her other children since He "never seemed to mind the cold." Later, some of his clothes are given to the other two children because "He sets around the fire a lot, He won't need so much."

The fact that the family's economic situation continues to deteriorate, despite much hard work, emphasizes the sense that such children are punishment. Finally, when He becomes bedridden with illness that does not respond to the local physician's ministrations, He is taken to the County Home for treatment. As his mother holds He in the back of a double-seated carryall provided by a sympathetic neighbor, she thinks, "Oh, what a mortal pity He was ever born."

Bernard Bard (Bard and Fletcher 1968: 62), a veteran education writer for the New York Post, cited this line in 1968, although he did not reference it for the reader, in arguing that the death of his infant "mongoloid" child was "a blessing" and a justification for euthanasia. Bard's exact words were:

I did not know my son. I do not know his thousands of brothers and sisters, of whom it has been written, "Oh, what a mortal pity He was ever born," and I do not speak for them, just for myself and perhaps for Philip [infant son's name]. I believe that it is time for a sane and civilized and humane approach to euthanasia.

Although Porter may never have intended her short story to be used as grounds to support the killing of "mongoloids," this is precisely what Bard did with it.

The theme of atavism, mixed with primitive religious fundamentalism, is strong in Porter's story. Revealingly, He comes from an impoverished, miserably-educated, lower-class family. By being nameless, He conveys the impression of a primordial ancestor, further implied by his simian activities, lack of speech, and docility. He is also a chastisement; his father groans that he can no longer afford private medical care and his mother's benediction that it is a pity He was ever born concedes the desirability of the certain death that awaits him in the County Home. Though his mother, Mrs. Whipple, has at once assured herself that "The innocent walk with God--that's why He don't get hurt," this is at a time when He does much farm work. Later, when He is bedridden and a considerable drain on the family's strapped resources, returning nothing in the way of labor, God's protection is withdrawn and death seems a welcome respite.

Another, longer, narrative intended for a general American readership written by May Seagoe in 1964, presents similar images of a "mongoloid." The first chapter begins with a carefully crafted description of one Paul Scott. He

was short, a pygmy of a man. He was quick and agile, almost double-jointed. Yet he was curiously awkward, too, with broad hands, stumpy fingers and a little finger that turned in strangely; and with heavy creases in the palms of his hands (Seagoe 1964: 1).

American poets have also evoked "Mongoloid" as a mental category, further emphasizing the connection between mental retardation and the Mongols. In Richard Snyder's (b. 1925) poem "A Mongoloid Child Handling Shells on the Beach," written in 1971 and published in 1982 in *An Introduction to Poetry*, certain qualities of "Mongoloids" are stressed. The "broken Mongoloid" sits alone, outside the main stream, separated from "unbroken" children. The "unbroken" children are like the surf--rough, splashing, and shouting. Destined to "make waves" and impress society with their "nesting towels," they suggest unrealized potential. In contrast, the "Mongoloid" shares much with the sea in slowness, calmness, soberness, an unchanging nature, and in speech, for she only hums, as does the sea. She sits at the edge of the sea, expelled from an ageless primordial inhuman womb, as she is expelled

from normal human society. The tie between a sea capable of terrible violence and the "Mongoloid" is intensified by the fury and desolation of her name, for she has no particular identity other than that of the title: "Mongoloid Child." The sea, a more soothing concept of a mother than a human one, has sent her other things of its labyrinthine making--shattered bits of shells that she, as a broken kindred spirit, meditates on.

The editor of the collection Snyder's poem appeared in has this to say about "A Mongoloid Child Handling Shells on the Beach":

Since 1971, when this poem first appeared, the congenital condition once commonly named *mongolism* has come to be called *Down's syndrome* after the physician who first identified its characteristics. The denotations of *mongolism* and *Down's syndrome* are identical. What connotations of the word *mongoloid* seem responsible for the word's fall from favor? (66)

This study question was prepared, one may conjecture, for college-level introductory poetry classes. I am not sure exactly what Kennedy, the editor, expected for an answer. Stressing that *mongoloid* has "fallen from favor," one can imagine that Kennedy envisioned a discussion of negative connotations.

Negative connotations abound in Larry Rubin's "Dinner at the Mongoloid's," which was published in The Made Thing: An Anthology of Contemporary Southern Poetry in 1987. Rubin was born in New Jersey, although he grew up in Florida. At the time "Dinner at the Mongoloid's" was published he was a professor of English at the Georgia Institute of Technology. The poem has the female Down's victim craftily eyeing the visitor with "eyes squeezed shut" that are also described as "two broken ovals." The last words of the poem--"faceless, afraid of mirrors, chromosomes"--intimates Rubin's familiarity with the roots of Down's syndrome, but, evidently, "Mongoloid" has not fallen from favor with him. Crafty eyes, broken-oval eyes, dented features, and the male character's obvious discomfiture bordering on fear express a sense of an alien, fairly menacing presence. This sense is heightened by the contrast in the "Mongoloid's" outward shell, which is ribboned and smells of soap. Although her appearance, and especially her eyes, convey the grotesque, the narrator's

agitation seems derived from what the term "Mongoloid" symbolizes, for, as in Snyder's poem, the female character has no name. She appears to represent chromosomal error that confronts the narrator, reminding him that this *human* heritage is within him as well, although not expressed . . . yet.

This point was further illustrated by an astute passage in an article published in Harper's Magazine in late 1994. Composed by Michael Bérubé, an associate professor of English at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, it describes the birth of his second son, James, who was diagnosed as having Down's syndrome. Bérubé presents an overview of the condition in technical biological terms:

Along with his patent ductus arteriosus and his trisomy 21, there was laryngomalacia (floppy larynx), jaundice, polycythemia (an abnormal increase in red blood cells), torticollis, vertebral anomaly, scoliosis, hypotonia (low muscle tone), and (not least of these) feeding problems (43).

This implies that, at least, the readers of Harper's if not the general public, are expected to be familiar with trisomy 21. The first inkling of their son's many problems was the remark of a medical practitioner in the hospital: "He looks Downsy around the eyes." It is not until a good deal later in his account that Bérubé provides a short history of how Down diagnosed trisomy 21 in "1866 as "mongolism" because it produced children with almond-shaped eyes reminiscent, to at least one nineteenth-century British mind, of central Asian faces" (47).⁵⁸ Bérubé may have been familiar with Stephen Jay Gould's The Panda's Thumb; at any rate Bérubé's acknowledgment of variability in "Central Asian faces" deserves note, as does his use of words not related to "Mongol" in describing his son's condition.

What I wish to focus on, however, is the following evocative issue Bérubé poses:

Is there a connection between theoretical textual representations of Down syndrome and the social policies by which people with Down's are understood and misunderstood? . . . There really is a difference between calling someone "a mongoloid idiot" and calling him or her "a person with Down syndrome" (47).

The question is answered with a resounding "yes," as suggested by the last sentence. Bérubé points out that the term "mongoloid idiot" was a diagnosis utilized by the world's best medical practitioners through the 1970s and suggests that it is an epithet "uttered by callow, ignorant persons fearful of 'difference' and 'central Asian eyes.'" In using the expression "mongoloid idiot" two aims are achieved: the mental competence and the racial constitution of the target are questioned.

The preenlightened world, according to Bérubé, was one in which trusted experts suggested "mongoloids" should be institutionalized. The literature supports this. The Journal of the American Medical Association, in 1949, strongly supported placing "mongoloids" in institutions:

A child with mongolism will adapt happily, quickly and permanently to a custodial environment. Placement is the kindest thing which can be done to the afflicted person and is so obviously indicated from both the parents' and society's point of view that the only contrary argument is sentiment so divorced from reality that it is closer to sentimentality ("Mongolism":d: 272).

It was only in the early 1970s, Bérubé suggests, that certain parents began resisting and brought such children home. By working with them, these parents showed how much progress people with Down's syndrome could achieve in "special learning" environments. This is a plausible explanation for the general period, given the questioning nature of American society and the many contemporary criticisms of the American medical establishment.

In noting that "the most intimate possible relations between the language in which we spoke of Down's and the social practices by which we understood it--or refused to understand it" (48) Bérubé captures the essence of something important. There is a connection between textual representations of Mongols and the attitudes and political policies that exemplify how Mongols are understood and misunderstood. There is a difference between calling someone a "Mongol" and a "Tibetan." Westerners react differently on a personal level and Western nations respond differently on a political level to Mongol and Tibetan issues. A Mongol who has lived in Canada for nearly ten years, for example, confided to me that one of her Canadian

friends expressed a feeling of discomfort in introducing her as a "Mongol." She preferred saying that she was "Chinese." Tellingly, the closest Bérubé comes to dealing with "Mongol" as a racial classification/ethnic tab is by invoking the phrase "central Asian" and "almond eyes." He writes that the parents who went against the grain by not having their trisomy 21 children institutionalized "uplifted the race," by which I assume he means *Homo sapiens*, the "human race," and not the "Mongol race." While there was more distrust in social institutions on the part of the American public, there was also a growing toleration for other "races." America was beginning to do more toward realizing the ideal of a society of varied members. This was further encouragement for parents with "mongolian children" to keep them, rather than deporting them to institutions.

That children with trisomy 21 were once exiled from American homes to the anonymity of institutions in large numbers, with the full blessings of society, is indisputable. A meticulously designed statement written by Gail Carey explaining why this was so, directed at a general readership, appeared in the October 1936 issue of The Reader's Digest. The order in which Gail Carey introduces the topic of "Mongolism," the term she uses, is important because it provides insight into how Americans of this generation understood "Mongolism."

"Your baby never can be normal. His trouble is called Mongolism."
*"Never can be normal! . . . Mongolism! . . . Hopeless idiocy
 . . . That I can never, never face."*

"Mongolism, or Mongolianism, is a congenital malformation, usually accompanied by imbecility, in which the child has slanting eyes like a Mongolian's. Except this resemblance, the disease has absolutely no connection with the Mongolian race (85).

Today, readers must blanch at these first sentences. "Mongolism" follows hot on the heels of some, as yet, undescribed abnormality it is held responsible for, and is then briskly equated with "hopeless idiocy." This is made even more intense by the mother's rejecting her child for the very reason that he is a "Mongolian."

The only inkling we obtain of what this link might be is Carey's explaining that she expected her union with her husband to "produce only perfect children. None of

our relatives had children who were subnormal mentally, and we implied that anyone who did had a taint or a bad strain somewhere in the family" (85). "Taint" and "bad strain," more than two decades before a genetic defect would be identified as the cause of "Mongolism," refers to either racial mixing or a family history of mental disability. Later in Gail Carey's saga, a doctor informs her that "Mongolism" can "strike in any family" and results from an "accident" that causes "arrested development." This came after the family had exhausted thyroid treatments, a popular remedy at the time for trisomy 21.

This treatment of "Mongolism" provides an interesting aside in just how often the medical establishment has stumbled. *Science* ("The Mongoloid Idiots" 1925), for example, reported that there were 20,000 "Mongoloid idiots" in the United States. Labeling these people "defectives," the author writes that they look like "oriental dolls" and are increasing in number. The condition is more prevalent in France, the article maintains, due to "endocrine exhaustion" of the French. The reader is further informed that the "Chinese features" of the "white Mongoloid idiot" are attributable to an "oriental" diet deficient in phosphorous, although just how a lack of phosphorus can produce "oriental features" is never spelled out. This leads the writer to conclude that "white Mongoloid idiots" owe their condition to a history of dietetic errors on the part of their ancestors. Three years later, in an item dubbed "Treatment of Mongoloid Idiots," *Science* held out considerable hope for "Mongoloid idiots" resembling "flat-faced oriental dolls" by administering "pituitary substances." Dr. Walter Timme of New York was reported as giving hypodermic injections of "pituitary substances, both of the whole gland and particularly of the fore lobe of the gland." Dr. Timme observed much improvement in his patients as the result of this treatment, when combined with the "usual thyroid treatment."⁵⁹

However, David, the Carey's "Mongolian" son, did not improve after such treatments. The problem that he posed for the Carey family seemed predominantly psychological:

one of the horrors that loomed large in our minds was that other people must know, and that perhaps they would not allow their children to come to play with Helen [David's sister]. We had done nothing for which we were to blame, and yet there was a peculiar sense of shame in our hearts, as if we were social lepers.

People will advertise with pride their physical infirmities but in the face of a mental ill, there is an awed, mysterious hush. Perhaps it is a relic of the dark ages when people so affected were thought to be possessed of a demon. We were guilty of it, too, for a few days, until we began to think for ourselves (87).

It is not possible to learn to what extent this sense of shame was the result of having a child with "arrested development" or at having a "Mongoloid."

Although Carey writes that she and her husband were "blissfully happy" with their child, there was a great gulf between Carey and David: "He was a funny little mite, rather more like a Chinese doll than an American baby for his eyes were tipped in the Mongolian way, and a slight attack of jaundice gave him an even more oriental appearance" (85). This interpretation, plus the counsel of an expert in the field, simplified David's institutionalization. Faced with the prospect that Helen would have to deal with the "jeers of other children" for having a "Chinese doll" brother, and David's exhausting their financial resources and physical strength, they deposited him in a state institution. The school where he was left is depicted as clean and staffed by compassionate intelligent people willing to go to any lengths for the comfort and care of patients.

This glowing account contradicts other reports issued during roughly the same period. Dr. Leo Kanner, Associate Professor of Psychiatry and Pediatrics at The Johns Hopkins University, for example, in discussing seven year old George T., writes that George is a "mongolian" who would always need "protective direction" throughout his life. However, George's parents could not afford institutionalization and "The State institution in the State in which he lived was nothing more than a fifth-rate dumping place" (1949: 13).

In the end, Carey argues, it is the parents who suffer, because they are very lonely. Nevertheless, they heroically tolerate this because David is "with the type of

children whom he can most enjoy"--presumably other "Mongoloids." This raises the question of whether David's chances of staying with his family and avoiding institutionalization would have been improved if he had not been diagnosed as a "Mongoloid." The mother had attempted to kill herself and David soon after she was told the diagnosis believing that "my baby would be better off dead" and "I had no very great desire to live myself." Because she had no such wish to do so before hearing the diagnosis of "Mongolism," it appears that the "dark ages" Gail Carey mentions were very much a reality in 1936.

The observation cited earlier that there is no connection between "Mongolism" and "the Mongolian race" presupposes that a general American public thought there was just such a correlation; this is a reasonable deduction given the similarity in terminology. But there is more to this. Carey's article appeared a little more than a decade after a British physician, F. G. Crookshank (1873-1933), published a startling, but popular treatise in New York entitled The Mongol in Our Midst: A Study of Man and His Three Faces. Crookshank (1924) views humankind as classifiable into the three primary races--white, yellow, and black. The identifiable elements of each are the physical characteristics envisaged by earlier writers and accepted as valid during Crookshank's time. Crookshank's work neatly conflates the ideas of Mongol as race and Mongol as idiot. Repeatedly the author crosses from "racial Mongol" to "Western Mongol," an ostensibly white person who resembles racial Mongols in physical features and personality, to "Mongol idiot." This collection of Mongol humanity appears as a single structure in Crookshank's terrain of human beings, replete with not only its own distinctive physical characteristics but also particular cultural and personality qualities.

Characteristics defining race at the time were so rigid that when, for example, two white people had a child that appeared to have the defining characteristics of another race, it was curious and worthy of considerable contemplation. Crookshank offers that adult Mongoloids are very numerous in England and further divides them into two subtypes: high-grade and low grade. The latter are described as "always

having some simian stigmata." Such unsavory characters as knavish solicitors, criminal doctors, and bankrupt persons are used to illustrate this class. The "high-grade Mongoloids" include successes on the stage and in the professions, and, heaven help us, even in Parliament. Nevertheless, Crookshank concludes, they are a "race apart. For better or for worse, they are not *quite* as are other men and women around them. They are, indeed, Mongols expatriate" (13).

Crookshank envisions the Mongols of Central Asia as the prototype Mongol, with other Asian people being not wholly Mongol; for example, Japanese are "mixed." He contends that not only can man be grouped into three large categories, but that there are important "homologies" between (1) Mongols as a racial division, orangutans, and the "classical Mongolian imbecile of Langdon-Down"; (2) white people, chimpanzees, and whites suffering from Dementia Praecox; and (3) black people, gorillas, and white "Langdon-Down idiots" classified as "Ethiopic." His book features many photographs of orangutans, chimpanzees, and gorillas and *Homo sapiens* posed similarly. For example, a gorilla squatting against a tree in the same manner as a certain black man from Africa presumably evidences a relationship between the two. Consequently, an English trisomy 21 child sitting cross-legged indicates his being a "real Mongol."

In terms of personality and character, Crookshank paints chimpanzees as noisy, mischievous, and lascivious. Their relatives, *Homo Europaeus*, are "seen participating with his kind in social and religious ceremony at the Ritz and the Cathedral." Orangutans, in contrast, are dignified, philosophic, and self-sufficient and their kin, *Homo Asiaticus*, after retirement, live in semi-monastic seclusion in order to write Buddhist plays. Finally, gorillas are slow, cunning, and brutal and their kindred, black people, are eager to find "jazz-loving women of the night clubs."

This description is partial evidence for Crookshank's (1925: 695) support for a polyphyletic theory of man's origin. From a single common source of humankind three branches diverged: (1) orangutans and Mongolians, (2) gorillas and black people, and (3) chimpanzees and white people. When Mongols have appeared "in our

midst," "our" meaning "white people," Crookshank explains this based on atavism or racial mixing. That there are "Occidental" or "Western" Mongoloids is beyond doubt:

the personal friend of an eminent statesman of Mongolian facies and physique, informed me that this great man's antipathy to Christianity was balanced by his leanings towards Buddhism; a charming and accomplished woman doctor--an obvious Mongoloid--told me that when a child she clamored for Chinese images as birthday presents; and the parents of a little Mongolian imbecile said that they had severally and for long had cherished an ambition to go to China as missionaries. I have since noted that while, as my friend Dr. R. Langdon-Down has said, the children of Anglo-Saxon missionaries to China are not infrequently Mongolian imbeciles, it is even more frequently the case that those displaying an interest in Mongolian problems and Chinese thought are themselves the bearers of Mongolian stigmata. Quite recently, in the course of my work at the French Hospital, I examined a woman of "pure" Italian descent, who displayed all the obvious stigmata of Occidental Mongolism. She told me for some years past she had been happily married to a Chinaman (1925: 692).

The "stigmata" that play an important role in Crookshank's musings about precisely what comprises a "Mongoloid" consist of, among other ingredients, short stubby penises "not in need of circumcision" and lobeless ears. Recognition of the latter as a sign of racial inferiority explains why, according to Crookshank, Chinese women often wear heavy earrings: to promote earlobe development. And so on, page after page. Such meanderings today seem so outlandish and so self-evidently dubious that it is difficult to construe them as anything more than reckless racist fantasy. Nevertheless, *The Mongol In Our Midst* enjoyed several printings, and in 1931 a third and final edition appeared that had been much enlarged and rewritten (Reid 1994c: 89).⁶⁰

With such notions in circulation, it was understandable Carey would rush to tell the reader her child was not *really* a Mongolian. If Crookshank had been asked, he would have said that her son *was* a Mongolian. The fact that Carey's 1936 article was published in *The Reader's Digest* makes it plausible to assume that it represented a typical middle-class American response to trisomy 21 at that time; *The Reader's*

Digest was hardly an insurgent journal. The loss of racial identity on the part of Caucasians who had trisomy 21 is an important and powerful part of this discourse.

Many of the views expressed by Carey were still in use three decades later in a short story entitled "The Mongol" by Elisabeth Mann Borgese. A forty-six year old married woman has sex with a Filipino of Japanese descent named "Yoyo." The result of this encounter is a "Mongolian idiot." Borgese provides a list of explanations, through snippets of neighbors' conversation, that might interpret the reasons for the child's mental condition. These include nervousness in pregnancy on the part of the mother, Mrs. van Rintelen; the fact that this condition "ran in the family"; she was too active in the late months of her pregnancy; and "colonial intermarriage" on the part of Mr. van Rintelen's family, that is, "black blood." The child, Lynn, is called a "throwback" and those who see him say he "really looks like a little Mongolian."

Midway through this story, Borgese suddenly switches perspective and we see the world through the eyes of Lynn. As time passes he becomes increasingly perceptive and, when an old stable hand informs him of who his genetic father is he slips poison into his mother's tea and confronts her with what he has learned. Overcome by her son's knowledge, she drinks the tea and promptly expires. The outcome of an ensuing trial puts Lynn in the "State Asylum" as a result of an insanity defense. Shortly before the story ends a "college-bred" nurse comments that "a Mongolian idiot is a Mongolian idiot. Criminality lies next to imbecility" (190).

Borgese appears ambivalent as to both the cause of trisomy 21 and in her stance toward how "normal" an existence those with it can lead. Mrs. van Rintelen is painted as cruel because of strong drugs she obtains from a sympathetic doctor to administer to Lynn and, in this sense, her death is a punishment. Similarly, retribution also is evident in her giving birth to a "Mongol child" as the result of copulating with Yoyo, who "belonged to a different species. It was like doing it with one of her dogs as she sometimes thought she would but never did" (180). In having Yoyo father the child, Borgese insures that "the Mongol" is not really "white."

Ambivalence is further reflected in Lynn's sensitivity and perception. When he understands who his father is, it is such a shock that it makes his

knees feel sagging and I trembled and my eyes watered and that made me think of those medicines. . . . Mongolian idiot my foot are you crazy or what's up I am a Chinese boy and *you know it* and I'll pay you back at least once you will know what it felt like if you can feel at all (187).

It is this very sensitivity and perception that lead to his sense of hurt and his desire to punish his mother. Just before his mother drinks the tea, Lynn indirectly tells her he put poison in it, not understanding that the skull and crossbones on the box mean something deadly. When his mother understands, she downs the cup of tea in a single gulp, slumps into her chair and "growled. 'You won't get away with it, *idiot*'" (189). By knowingly drinking a lethal poison, she willingly accepts punishment for her past misdeeds while simultaneously inflicting one last cruelty on her son. The story conveys no scientific understanding of trisomy 21. Although there is a clouded suggestion that "Mongolian idiots" may have more intelligence than neighbors believe, this only brings ruin to the family.

More recently, the Southern writer Kaye Gibbons (quoted in Wolcotte 1995) has given an example that places the term "mongoloid" in a family of other terms suggesting mental deficiency as late as the 1970s:

The words 'imbecile,' 'moron,' 'mongoloid,' 'idiot,' and 'retard' had not yet been sanitized in that big high-powered washing machine of the seventies, and one of my worst fears was that if my mother was sent to [the state hospital for the insane] she would be given an epithet she would never live down.

To the extent these terms depict a "typical" American reaction, they contrast sharply with attitudes in certain non-Western cultures. For example, Milton and Gonzalo (1974), in studying sculpture, figurines, masks, and pottery of the Olmec people of Central America and Mexico, whose culture flourished from 1,500 BC to AD 300, argue that those with trisomy 21 were, at that time, worshiped. The reason for this was that they were believed to be the progeny of a sexual encounter between

a male jaguar, the main totem of the Olmec, and a female Olmec. This view is further supported by a cave painting of a human female copulating with a jaguar.

Finally, in discussing what "Mongolism" connotes in the context of the "dark ages," that time period should be geographically and culturally defined. It is a tempting prospect, in the late twentieth century, to assure ourselves that Down's syndrome has been thoroughly removed from the "dark ages," but this is wishful thinking. "Ignorance, prejudice, and good intentions that go astray seem to be always with us, though their forms may change" Rynders and Pueschel (1982: 3) write in a history of Down's syndrome. The same authors also describe the discomfiture of parents of a trisomy 21 child who consulted the family's 1970 version of the Encyclopedia Britannica. They located Down's syndrome under the heading of "Monster." Within this context, the authors take particular issue with the theologian Joseph Fletcher, who responded to a 1968 article in The Atlantic Monthly penned by a father detailing his distress over making a decision to institutionalize his trisomy 21 son. Fletcher argues that the family had no reason to feel guilty about what happened to their child regardless of

whether it's "put away" in the sense of hidden in a sanitarium or in a more responsible lethal sense. It is sad, yes. Dreadful. But it carries no guilt. True guilt arises only from an offense against a person, and a Down's is not a person. . . . Guilt over a decision to end idiocy would be a false guilt, and probably unconsciously a form of psychic masochism (Bard and Fletcher 1968: 64).

At the beginning of his essay Fletcher seeks to distance himself from the term "Mongoloid," on account of his son's being a Central Asian historian,⁶¹ and insists on using the term "Down's" to refer to those with trisomy 21. Yet, is it accidental that his remarks about those with this genetic defect share much in common with, for example, Matthew Paris' English History From the Year 1235-1271? "Evil," and "monstrous accident" are employed by Fletcher to refer to those with Down's syndrome and the suggestion is offered that there is no difference between a person with Down's and a "brute." These allusions serve as pillars of support for Fletcher's

ultimate solution: death. Who could have argued that "evil," "monstrous accidents," and "brutes" should not be eliminated?

Encouragingly, of the ten "Letters to the Editors"⁶² printed in the subsequent June issue of *The Atlantic Monthly*, eight objected to Fletcher's stance. Writers, several of whom had children with Down's syndrome, point out that those with Down's have varying degrees of intelligence, it is not possible to judge fully the extent of mental retardation until the age of two to three, and that caring for a child with Down's syndrome can bring new experiences of love into one's life.

The question as to what extent the depersonalization of the boy child to Fletcher's "it," that is best killed, may be owing an association with the Mongols has at least a partial answer in the medical literature. From the late nineteenth century through the twentieth century this literature is permeated with variations of the term "Mongol," signifying mental retardation of one sort or another and resonating with contemporary images in popular literature. This was not the only "Mongol" image portrayed, but it was a vigorous one, claiming authority from established medical science. In depicting mental retardation, the scientific establishment continues to be painfully unaware of the fact that various forms of the term "Mongol" have "fallen from favor."

Joseph Wortis of the New York School of Medicine at Stony Brook, for example, published an article entitled "The Mongoloid Model" in *Biological-Psychiatry* in 1985. He specifically equates Trisomy 21 with "mongolism" and refers to people with Trisomy 21 as "mongoloids." This harmonizes with popular American culture arenas, that have also employed the term "Mongoloid" to signify mental retardation. In the arena of dance, Elaine Siegel has offered "'The Phantasy Life of a Mongoloid': Movement Therapy as a Development Tool" (1972). In the realm of pop music, the musical group DEVO has issued a recording entitled *DEVO Live: The Mongoloid Years* that contains the line "mongoloid he was a mongoloid" repeated after almost every other line of the song.⁶³ Apparently, audiences responded to the message of this song in a powerful enough way that DEVO included

"Mongoloid" on at least three of its releases spanning the period 1978-1992. The term "Mongoloid" in the song is another representation of the meaning of the group's name, that is, "devolution," suggesting retrograde evolution. The "mongoloid" "has one chromosome too many," is "happier than you and me," "had a job," and nobody knew or cared that he was a "mongoloid." The pessimistic and critical message about modern life is that being an atavism or "mongoloid" is a better proposition (at least one can be happy) than being "normal." Furthermore, no one can tell the difference anyway in the modern world.

In these various renderings, the fact that an upper-case "M" had been replaced by a lower-case "m" is trivial as a meaningful attempt to declassify the word as a racial tag. Analogous terminology was used by Mary Jane Janowski in 1986 in a description of one of her patients ("mongoloid"). Janowski was, then, a registered nurse and an associate editor of the American Journal of Nursing.

Dr. John Langdon Haydon Down (1828-1896)

John Down was born in Tor Point, Cornwall, England. At the age of fourteen he was apprenticed to the village apothecary. Four years later he made his way to London where he found employment with a surgeon bleeding patients, extracting teeth, cleaning bottles, and disbursing medicines. At the age of twenty-five he became a student at the London Hospital, and in 1856 he qualified for membership in the Royal College of Surgeons and the Apothecaries Hall. Two years later he became Medical Superintendent of the Earlswood Asylum for Idiots in Surrey. This was a surprising choice of vocation, owing to the low status of the study of "idiocy" then (Brain 1967: 1-3).

In 1867 Down published "Observations on an Ethnic Classification of Idiots" in the British Journal of Mental Science. Although a mere thirteen paragraphs in length, Down's thesis continues to influence the nomenclature of mentally deficient persons. He begins his article by saying that he had had his attention directed to the

possibility of classifying the "feebleminded" by ethnic standards. Whether this came from some inner illumination, readings, or conversations with people of similar interests, we do not know. It is probable that Down was familiar with Robert Chambers' Vestiges of the Natural History of Creation and the following passage:

Development being arrested at so immature a stage in the case of the Negro, the skin may take on the colour as an unavoidable consequence of its imperfect organization. It is favourable to this view, that Negro infants are not deeply black at first, but only acquire the full colour tint after exposure for some time to the atmosphere. Another consideration in its favour is that there is a likelihood of peculiarities of form and colour, since they are so incident, depending on one set of phenomena. If it be admitted as true, there can be no difficulty in accounting for all the varieties of mankind. They are simply the result of so many advances and retrogressions in the developing power of the human mothers, these advances and retrogressions being, as we have formerly seen, the immediate effect of external conditions in nutrition, hardship &c., and also, perhaps, to some extent, of the suitability and unsuitability of marriages, for it is found that parents too nearly related tend to produce offspring of the Mongolian type,—that is, persons who in maturity still are a kind of children. According to this view, the greater part of the human race must be considered as having lapsed or declined from the original type. The Mongolian, Malay, American, and Negro, comprehending perhaps five-sixths of mankind, are degenerate (1844: 308-309).

Just how original Down's ethnic classification was remains a riddle. He was, however, unquestionably not the first Westerner to employ ethnic designations in a taxonomy of the "feebleminded." Edward Seguin, for example, in 1866 mentioned work previously done on "Aztec" children, a term used to refer to children "whose heads are under thirteen inches in circumference" (37). Furthermore, Down was not original in noticing the mental condition that would later be classified as trisomy 21. Seguin (1866), besides typifying the "lowland cretinism" of Virginia, described

furfuraceous cretinism with its milk-white, rosy, and peeling skin; with its shortcomings of all the integuments, which give an unfinished aspect to the truncated fingers and nose; with its cracked lips and tongue; with its red ectopic conjunctiva, coming out to supply the curtailed skin at the margins of the lids (32).

Herein are depicted attributes of the skin, hands, feet, facial features, and the eyes that continue to be diagnostic characteristics for trisomy 21 today.

What Down *did* do was to take what were then accepted as the physical attributes defining human races and apply them to "idiots." Down first deals with the "Ethiopian variety," which he also calls "white negroes." They are so called because of "characteristic malar bones," "prominent eyes," "puffy lips," "retreating chins," and "wooly hair." Down then addresses the "Malay variety," which is identified by "soft, black, curling hair," "prominent upper jaws," and "capacious mouths." He treats briefly the American Indians, who are noted for their "shortened foreheads," "prominent cheeks," "deep-set eyes," and "slightly apish noses." By not describing the Caucasian race, Down implies that it cannot be associated with any of the above, or similar mental defects. Most of the article is, however, devoted to the "great Mongolian family," because

A very large number of congenital idiots are typical Mongols. So marked is this, that when placed side by side, it is difficult to believe that the specimens compared are not children of the same parents.

The number of idiots who arrange themselves around the Mongolian type is so great, and they present such a close resemblance to one another in mental power, that I shall describe an idiot member of this racial division (122).

Down proceeded to cite physical characteristics, particularly those concerning the head, which had been in use since the time of Buffon to delineate the "Mongolian race."

The *hair*⁶⁴ is black, as in the real Mongol, but of a brownish colour, straight and scanty. The *face* is flat and broad, and destitute of prominence. The *cheeks* are roundish, and extended laterally. The *eyes* are obliquely placed, and the internal canthi more than normally distant from one another. The palpebral fissure is very narrow. The *forehead* is wrinkled transversely, from the constant assistance which the levatores palpebrarum derive from the occipito-frontalis muscle in the opening of the eyes. The *lips* are large and thick, with transverse fissures. The *tongue* is long, thick, and is much roughened. The *nose* is small. The *skin* has a slight dirty-yellow tinge, and is deficient in elasticity, giving the appearance of being too large for the body (122).

Although there is nothing fantastic or explicitly monstrous in this description, there is no physical beauty in it, just as there has, historically, been virtually nothing attractive in summaries of the physical characteristics of the "Mongolian race" by Westerners. "Scanty," "destitute," "wrinkled," "large and thick," "roughened," and "dirty" were also used, in the same period, to depict the "Mongolian race." It was a description that would continue to reverberate well into the next century. Clemens E. Benda, for example, nearly one hundred years later would write that Down's characterization "describes well the appearance of many mongoloid children between about 5 and 15 years of age. . ." (1960: 1).

"Kalmuc Idiocy"

There was no immediate reaction to Down's essay. Indeed, nine years later the same journal published two articles on "Kalmuc idiocy" by writers who did not show that they were aware of Down's 1867 article. In a report, in dialogue form, between physicians attending a meeting with "idiocy" as its centerpiece, the "Case and Autopsy of a Kalmuc Idiot" (1876) was discussed. The chairman remarked

that the term Kalmuc was a very objectionable term. He thought there was nothing marked about the Kalmuc, and there was no reason for nicknaming an idiot by calling him a Kalmuc. He thought that this uncalled-for-term should be departed from. Why did they call such an one a Kalmuc? The idiot is no more a Kalmuc than any other human being (162).

To this Dr. John Fraser, who had presented the case in question, responded, "It is so called on account of the form of the eyes and the size of the head" (162). Fraser disregarded this criticism and later in a longer report on "Kalmuc idiocy" he and Mitchell (1876) described in more detail the defining properties of the "Kalmuc idiot." These include "obliquity of the eyes," "palpebral slits," "squatness of the hands," a short flat nose, "shortness of stature," "disproportion between different parts of the limbs," and a small head. "The peculiarity of the eyes and nose give the face a Kalmuc

look, and hence the name" (169). The authors added that they attempted to find relevant literature but were not successful.

Sloppy scholarship continues in the arena of the history of "Mongol idiocy." In the Cambridge World History of Human Disease, for example, Christine Cronk writes that Down "described a type of congenital defect bearing resemblance to the Tartar race which he called Kalmuc or Mongolian" (1993: 685). Her citation for this is Brain (1967). However, neither Brain nor Down, in "Observations on an Ethnic Classification of Idiots," which Cronk cites as her sole Down's reference, mentions "Kalmuc" or "Tartar." She also dubs Fraser's and Mitchell's articles as the "next important reports," failing to mention that they used the term "Kalmuc" and not "Mongolian." She also refers to their reports as offered in 1875, rather than 1876, when they were published in the Journal of Mental Science. In her "Bibliography" there is no reference to Fraser and Mitchell.

Relatedly, Smith and Bery (1976: 2) cite Fraser's and Mitchell's work and use the term "Kalmuck idiots." They do not show that they are aware that Kalmyks are Mongols. Similarly, Rynders and Pueschel, in a 1982 review of biomedical and behavioral science advances in the study of Down's syndrome, mention Fraser's and Mitchell's work, but do not deal with the relationship between Kalmyks and Mongols.

These authors' assertion that they had attempted to find relevant literature and had failed might not have been true, although the questions put to Dr. Fraser when he presented his "Case and Autopsy of a Kalmuc Idiot" suggest that his interlocutors were equally unaware of Down's earlier paper. None asked him, for example, about "Kalmuc idiocy" vis-a-vis "Mongolian idiocy." If his coauthor of the later paper, who was also Commissioner of Lunacy, was equally unaware of relevant literature, it suggests that there was not much reading of scientific materials by the authors, or else that they did not associate Kalmyks with Mongols, which seems unlikely.

The diagram of the skull in a whole-page drawing entitled "Skull, Cast, & Foot of E. M. a Kalmuck Idiot" resonates with the work of Camper and his contemporaries more than a century earlier. The autopsy report on "E. M." reveals that after her death

she was literally taken apart. Every nook and cranny of her body was navigated, probed, measured, and described in much the way that travelers treated exotic vistas. Fraser and Mitchell wanted, in the same way as did Western travelers and explorers encountering unfamiliar terrain, to win renown by cataloging what they beheld. Though they themselves, given their own state of knowledge, might not appreciate the value of what they had encountered, they appear to have believed that description could prove useful in the future; rather like Columbus' discovery of land he had no idea would later be identified as the "New World." This is evident in much of Fraser and Mitchell's report, which is mere description. There is no suggestion as to what it might imply or what larger issue it speaks to.

From medieval times well into the nineteenth century, disabled children, or "monsters" as they were often known, were thought to have been the products of such influences as the sins of the parents, the mother's habitual anxiety, and perhaps even copulating with a fiend. There were other dangers as well. Edward Seguin, for instance, in discussing the classification of "idiots" in 1866, wrote that "idiots" may result from "parental heredity," which includes the mother's being "miserably enervated by music, perfumes, savors, pictures, books, theatres, [and] associations" (31). She might also have caused her fetus to become "idiotic," by using "for exclusive food unnutritious substances, such as pickles, dainties, lemons, tea, brandies, etc." (31). Other dangers included "spermatozoa. . .having been altered in their vitality previous to their emission by drunkenness" (31). The dangers of inebriated sperm's leading to "Mongolism" were sounded well into the twentieth century. A 1936 letter from an anonymous MD in Nebraska to the Journal of the American Medical Association stated that parents of a "mongolian idiot" had no history of alcoholism, thus dismissing this as the cause of the "idiocy" ("Mongolian Idiocy"b: 2075).

Related to the influence of sperm on "Mongolism," Dr. O. O. Lyons of Vancouver, British Columbia wondered, in a 1950 letter to the Journal of the American Medical Association: "Are mongoloid type babies due to double-headed spermatozoa?" The response was that, of the eighty million moving spermatozoa

required in a single ejaculate for conception to occur, thirteen percent are abnormal of which one percent are double-headed. "The motility of such a sperm is usually slow and it is improbable that such a sperm would be capable of reaching the ovum." The reasons for "idiot" children were numerous enough during this period to allow easy interpretation of the birth of an "idiot."

Remedies suggested as late as 1930 by the established medical community appear, today, just as outlandish as the aforementioned causes, and also have a medieval cast, as the following account illustrates. A medical doctor, listed simply as "MD of New York" sought information from the Journal of the American Medical Association in 1930 about what the chances were for a woman who had already had one "mongolian idiot" to have another. The response advised that "It has been the habit of some specialists in such and similar cases to administer throughout the pregnancy the old alterative tonics--mercury, arsenic, iodine, iron and calcium" ("Mongolian Idiocy":a: 684). In the context of the answer, this comes across as genuine treatment.

In the case of the "Kalmuc idiot," the reader is informed that E. M. was conceived out of wedlock and that her mother "suffered remorse and mental pain during her pregnancy, and to have expiated her sin by constant and affectionate care of her unfortunate offspring" (170). The implication is that there is a relationship between E. M.'s being born a "Kalmuc" and her mother's "sin."

E. M.'s brain and skull are a particular source of interest, with twenty-two separate measurements recorded for the skull alone. In addition, a full page diagram is given of the exposed brain titled "Brain of E. M. a Kalmuc Idiot." The reader has the sense that the writers had reached the heart of the mysterious landscape that they were traversing and that they would not leave and continue their journey of exploration until they had investigated every twist and turn: "The island of Reil on both sides is small and undivided; no convolutions spring from its external margin. The superior gyrus of both temporo-sphenoidal lobes is very narrow" (173). In discussing the "abdomen," the writers say "every organ was carefully examined," but

they deem it "unnecessary to detail the state of each." Nevertheless, the authors can not resist reporting that "the uterus was small, or round, cervix uteri constricted, and that the ovaries were small, and full of cicatrices of ovulation, but none apparently recent" (174). E. M. had no secrets, even in death, for the most intimate part of her anatomy was delved into and its propensity for procreation reported. Dr. Mitchell writes that his store of notes included references to visits made to sixty-two "Kalmuc idiots." The nearest he comes to formulating a cause of the condition is that it "appears to date from intra-uterine life" (175). Mitchell notes also that the condition was not merely physical, for, in addition, the "mental state is as distinct, as peculiar, and as steady as the physical" (177).

Scientists agreed on several attributes comprising a peculiar "Kalmuc" or "Mongol idiot" nature. One was a love for music and another was an unusual ability to imitate, which have long been traits attributed to the "Mongolian race."⁶⁵ Still another defining characteristic ability of "Mongol idiots" was a "contortionist"⁶⁶ ability. For a modern evocation of the "Mongol race," it is worth pointing out that in Mongol circus acts,⁶⁷ which have toured the United States in the 1990s, the female contortionists have received particular attention.⁶⁸ As a metaphor, the Mongol contortionist with her legs drawn over her shoulder blades and her feet tucked beneath her chin recapitulates the maladroit effigy which the American-European view of the Mongols epitomizes.

To the extent that the two terms "Mongol idiot" and "Kalmuc idiot" described the identical condition, Down's coinage was by far the more powerful. Soon the two terms were being used interchangeably. In 1881 Dr. George E. Shuttleworth, the medical superintendent of the Royal Albert Asylum, Lancaster, England, who obviously *had* read related literature, wrote of idiocy of the "Mongol or Kalmuc type" (242). A year later William Ireland, the medical superintendent of the Home and School for Imbeciles, Preston Lodge, Prestonpans, Scotland, who was widely quoted in the United States, provided a diagnosis of the "Mongolian idiot" that was very similar to Down's in an effort to distance the "idiot" from the "Caucasian race": "the

eyebrows have the outward slanting turn characteristic of Chinese drawings. . . . The general appearance recalls the Mongolian" (1882: 255). "Kalmuc idiot" was not mentioned by Ireland who, it should be pointed out, had dismissed the term "Kalmuc" when Fraser had presented his paper on a "Case and Autopsy of a Kalmuc Idiot" in 1876.

By the twentieth century, "Kalmuc idiot" was a term that was mostly forgotten. Although Shuttleworth used the phrase "real Mongol or Kalmuc" in 1909, he added that the physical characteristics distinguishing "Mongoloid imbeciles" were not "noticeable in the children of the Kalmuc village now on view at the 'Great White City'"⁶⁹ (662) and he did not use the term "Kalmuc" again in his paper. To what degree these particular Kalmyks were scrutinized this passage did not make clear. However, Bormanshinov (1988a) has reported that groups of Volga Kalmyks toured Europe in 1883 and 1884, setting up camps complete with *gers*, livestock, and transportable Buddhist temples, and giving performances of traditional culture. Not surprisingly, French, Swiss, and German scientists showed a good deal of interest in probing and collecting various physical measurements of these Kalmyks.

The title of the article, "Mongolian Imbecility," testified that the condition Chambers and Down had linked to the Mongols was now firmly established and would prowl the pages of the scientific literature for many more decades. There were occasional detractors, such as Drs. Edward Birchall Sherlock, a one-time Superintendent of the Belmont Asylum for Idiots, and Sir H. B. Donkin, Medical Adviser to the Prison Commissioners and Member of the Royal Commission on the Care and Control of the Feeble-Minded. In The Feeble-Minded: A Guide to Study and Practice published in 1911, the authors wearily wrote that

Custom has for so long sanctioned the application of the name "Mongolian" to the group of feeble-minded persons about to be described, that it is convenient to retain the designation, even though its meaning is vague and its suggestion of a resemblance to any of the Chinese types of physiognomy is largely fanciful (208).

However, for the most part, mental science experts used variants of "Mongol" with no attempt at qualification. In the mid-twentieth century, for instance, Winfred Overholser, Professor of Psychiatry at George Washington University, and Winifred V. Richmond, one-time Chief, Department of Psychology at Saint Elizabeths Hospital, stated that "The *Mongolian* or *Mongoloid* type of mental defect is so named because the facial features appear to resemble those of the Mongolian race" (1947: 47).

Shuttleworth also pondered in 1881 "whether in degenerate Mongols in the East any of these physical abnormalities occur" (662). This was a prescient question, given the belief at the time that "Mongol idiots" were atavisms. Crookshank, some years later, for example, would argue that it was impossible for "racial Mongols" to give birth to "Mongoloid idiots" since Mongols could not become Mongols due to degeneration because they already were Mongols.

Can Degenerates Degenerate?

At the end of "Observations on an Ethnic Classification of Idiots," John Down insists that his scheme has philosophical as well as practical implications:

The tendency in the present day is to reject the opinion that the various races are merely varieties of the human family having a common origin, and to insist that climatic or other influences are sufficient to account for the different types of man. Here, however, we have examples of retrogression, or at all events of departure from one type and the assumption of the characteristics of another.

If these great racial divisions are fixed and definite, how comes it that disease is able to break down the barrier, and to simulate so closely the features of the members of another division? I cannot but think that the observations which I have recorded are indications that the difference in the races are not specific, but variable.

These examples of the result of degeneracy among mankind appear to me to furnish some arguments in favour of the unity of the human species (123).

Thus, in one fell swoop, "Mongol" is powerfully entwined with elemental queries about the interrelationships of race, human origins, and mental deficiency. Again, on

Down's part, there is an underlying disavowal that "Caucasians" could, or better, perhaps, *should* resemble members of "inferior" racial groups. Using race as the variable, "non-Caucasian races" were searched for and scrutinized. Once the data were garnered, then the results could be repeatedly published.

One of the first of these publications was offered in 1922 by J. Harrison Tumpeer, M. D., Associate Professor and Head of the Department of Pediatrics, Post Graduate Hospital and Medical School, Michael Reese Hospital in Chicago, Illinois. One wonders, at the time Tumpeer penned the following lines, if he did so ironically:

The case described here illustrates that mongolian idiocy occurs in the Mongolian race, and the Mongolian features of mongolian idiocy are not masked by the Mongolian features of the Mongolian race. Indeed the family of the affected boy testified that "his eyes are more slitlike than those of the other children" (14).

Tumpeer explains that his report is significant because "From the time of Langdon Down, who first described mongolian idiocy in 1866, until the present, the cases reported have belonged to the Caucasian race" (14). If I understand Tumpeer who, probably, is not writing tongue-in-cheek, he is saying that "mongolian idiots" are more Mongolian than Mongolians who are not "mongolian idiots." The more "slitlike" the eyes, the more "Mongolian," which mirrors what has been written in a more recent era by anthropologists in defining the "extreme" Mongol.

Inspired by Tumpeer's article, Dr. Adrien Bleyer, an MD from St. Louis, reported "The Occurrence of Mongolism in Ethiopians" in 1925. "The recent report by Tumpeer in Chicago, however, of the occurrence of mongolian idiocy in a Chinese boy prompted the making of this additional report of its occurrence in the negro," (1041) writes Bleyer. Bleyer was very much interested in Down's theory, as the choice of the word "Ethiopians" and specific reference to Down's nineteenth century article suggests. Preoccupation with the racial exclusiveness of the condition is also displayed by attention to the patient's family history: ". . . any possibility of admixture of white blood at any time whatever was staunchly disavowed, which, of course, must be taken for what it is worth" (1042). In finding it difficult to accept that non-white people can

have "mongolism," the doctor demonstrates how strongly he feels that "degenerates cannot degenerate." The best he can conclude is "that Ethiopian blood is in itself no guarantee against mongolism" (1042). This implies that "admixture of white blood" is the authentic root of the ailment.

Other articles soon followed reporting "Mongolism" in "non-Caucasian" races (e.g., Mitchell and Cook 1932). Dr. Arnold Gesell, Director of the Clinic of Child Development at Yale University noted in 1936 that "since 1924 a total of twenty-eight cases of Negro mongolism have been reported in America" (1146). The situation resembled that before Down's "ethnic classification of idiots." Black people with trisomy 21 had been invisible. "Idiots" had been recognized for centuries, but they had not been perceived as "Mongoloids."

Conclusion

Smith and Bery (1976: 1) term it "remarkable" that a condition as clinically explicit and as frequent as trisomy 21 was not recognized as a definite entity until after the mid-nineteenth century.⁷⁰ Such, however, was the power of Down's association of the ailment with fashionable racial doctrines that "Mongoloid attributes" were identified with a great deal of intensity and confidence.⁷¹ So snug was this fit between racial theory and "degeneration," that it created an entire new variety of "idiots." Although there were occasional questions about just how closely "Mongoloid idiots" resembled Mongols, the term gained strength over the decades and the idea that "Mongoloids" resemble members of the "Mongoloid race" was accepted as an important diagnostic tool—but only in "Caucasians," a fact most reviewers of the history of Down's syndrome have been remiss in pointing out. Simultaneously, Langdon Down's theory casts a shade of invisibility over the study of mental deficiency amongst blacks and other "non-Caucasian" peoples. Although black people might be "idiotic," they could not be "Mongoloids."

In a reply to Michael Bérubé's article, discussed earlier, Steven Pinker, Director of the Center for Cognitive Neuroscience at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, points out that words do not, without human intervention, suddenly apply themselves to conditions. Rather, a word is used in a new sense that becomes popular within a community. The initial inspiration for such a coinage, as well as the "subsequent contagion" depends on certain attitudes. Pinker further suggests that, in 1995, it was inconceivable that "Down's" could be employed as an insult (1995: 4). Unfortunately, as the word list at the beginning of this chapter proves, derivations of "Mongol" have not shed their pejorative connotations. Furthermore, once created and outfitted with powerful "scientific" accouterments, "Mongol idiocy" began to have a life of its own and find resonance beyond its specific definition. As it grew and evolved, it created other realities for not only certain mentally handicapped people, but also for people classified as "racial Mongolians."

A popular culture example of this blending of variations of the word "Mongol" to mean race, nationality, and a condition of mental impairment may be found in how critics reacted to a film entitled "The Conqueror" starring John Wayne as Chinggis Khan. Critics expressed such judgments as John Wayne "portrays the great conqueror as a sort of cross between a square-shootin' sheriff and a Mongolian idiot" (Medved and Dreyfuss 1978: 61) and "Wayne does most of his communicating through a series of grunts. Perhaps the director forgot to tell him [John Wayne] the difference between a Mongol and a mongoloid" (Medved and Dreyfuss, 63).

In the midst of the identification of a new species of "idiot" in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries yet another piece of our still incomplete puzzle began to take shape--the Mongol body--which brought with it more tribulations to those calling themselves "Mongols."⁷²

CHAPTER 4

The Mongol Body

The Mongols are classic examples of the yellow, Mongoloid race. They usually have stocky builds with short legs, and rarely exceed 5 feet 6 inches (168 cm) in height. Their identifying characteristics include round head (brachycephalic), coarse dark hair, scant beard, flat nose, black or brown eyes with epicanthic fold of the upper eyelids ('slanted' eyes), generally broad flat face, and, for a brief period after birth, the 'Mongolian spot' of bluish pigment in the skin of the lumbar region (Rupert 1993: 356).

If this portrait were not dated, one might assume it emerged from the "dark ages" alluded to previously; perhaps from Buffon's eighteenth century description, with which it shares much in common. The only perplexity might be with the "Mongolian spot." Several classic ingredients present themselves: "yellow race," "stocky builds," "short legs," "round heads," "coarse scant" hair, "flat" noses, "slanted" eyes, and "broad flat" faces. Again, "no very inviting portrait," to quote Edward Daniel Clarke's 1811 pronouncement.

Several predicaments immediately present themselves. What population of Mongols was measured that yielded such data? Surely not all Mongols. Then what particular collection of Mongols? And in what time period? Body size generally increases with living standards. An argument, for instance, that the Japanese of the late twentieth century are precisely the same size as were Japanese one hundred years ago would be accorded little credence. Can human beings of any variety be truly "yellow" unless they suffer from serious hepatic disorders? I assume "slanted," when used to refer to eyes, denotes eyes that somehow, approach forty-five degree angles:

this is fantastic, although it is true that "slanted" is used in dated literature. On the whole, Rupert's description appears hardly representative, either of the "average" Mongol it purports to depict from a Mongol population spanning a huge portion of Central Asia, or in the choice of graphic lexical items. As with Denis Sinor, the impression is that Rupert personally knew few Mongols during his lifetime. From a great distance, both geographically and personally, it becomes much easier to typify Others in unflattering and stereotypic ways, here given further authority by the encyclopedia that they appear in.

Besides the codes used by scientists to define distinct racial categories, it should be pointed out that the physical descriptions of "Mongoloid idiots" are very similar to Rupert's. As has been argued earlier, the gross notion of a Mongol physicality simplified the manufacture of a "Mongoloid idiot" category. One of the most itemized verbal exhibitions of a Mongol physical makeup in the literature appears in Crookshank (1925), who cites more than one hundred, mostly scientific, references to bolster his arguments. Hand-markings and gestures, thyroidal conditions ("hyperthyroidal or hypothyroidal"), circulation, blood-pressure, height, skin, complexion, hair, degree of baldness, beards, pubic hair, pigmentation, ears, eyebrows, eyes, nose, lips, tongues, palates, teeth, heads, spines, clavicles, arms, hands, feet, larynxes, lungs, anuses, testicles, pudenda, penises, prepuces, menstruation, "varicosities of veins," and brains are all examined for their Mongol characteristics. Crookshank's design is to prove affinity among Mongols, "racial Mongols," "Mongoloid idiots," and orangutans. In one instance he writes that the tongues of certain "racial Mongols" that he had personally observed, were fissured. Furthermore, he argues that the literature supported the fissuring of "Mongoloid" and orangutan tongues. This is given as additional proof for the atavism of "Mongoloids."⁷³ In each case, what Crookshank does is to present a Mongol body element.

Scientists have not been alone in utilizing "Mongol body" images. They also have appeared in the popular literature. William Styron in *Sophie's Choice* describes

the protagonist's landlady, Yetta, as "squat and expansive, sixty or thereabouts, with a slightly mongoloid cast to her cheerful features that gave her the look of a beaming Buddha" (1983: 39). In the discussion that follows, two components of this manufactured "Mongol body" have been selected in order to explore it in more detail. The first is "blue spots," which have a decidedly scientific cast to them and rarely appear in the popular literature. However, the second element, the "Mongol eye," is found in both scientific and popular literature.

Blue Spots

Not only does a Mongolian body exist that can be envisioned and described in its entirety, but there are also bodily indications and signs of "Mongolianness." Though the term "Mongoloid" has been decreed inappropriate and, at least in certain quarters replaced with "Down's Syndrome" in the last third of the twentieth century, the term "Mongolian spots" has remained current in the medical literature throughout the twentieth century. In 1991, for example, Robins (120-121) defined it as

an area of blue-black pigmentation, situated over the lower part of the back and the buttocks, which is present at birth. . . . It represents the persistence of melanocytes in the dermis, the blue colour being an optical effect due to Tyndall scattering. . . . The Mongolian spot was so called because it was originally thought to occur exclusively in Mongoloid people, but although it does exist in about 95 per cent of Mongoloid infants, it is also observed in a similar proportion of Negroid babies and in 75 per cent of 'Cape Coloured' newborns. Although it is occasionally seen in dark-complexioned European Caucasoids, it never occurs in blond children with blue eyes. The Mongolian spot usually recedes in the period from 6 months to several years after birth, but in less than 5 per cent of cases it may persist into adulthood.

The etiology of this term may be traced to Edwin B. Baelz, a German professor, who was invited to Japan to teach internal medicine at Tokyo University in the late nineteenth century. Dr. Baelz married a Japanese woman and conducted a clinic in Tokyo for many years (Kikuchi 1982: 131, Brenneman 1907: 12). In 1885

he alerted European scientists to the Mongolian blue spot phenomenon with the term *Mongolen Fleck*.⁷⁴ Baelz considered the Mongolian spot a distinct racial characteristic and, when he found similar spots in two Indian children in northern Vancouver, British Columbia, he argued that American Indians were descended from Mongols (Brennemann 1907: 13).

Dr. Joseph Brennemann of the Northwestern University Medical School in Chicago (1907: 14) maintained that other observers had commented on darkly pigmented spots in newly born children before Baelz.⁷⁵ In any case, once the appellation "Mongolian blue spots" was bestowed, the scientific community latched onto it with fervor, partly because of its suggestion of racial origins. Note that nearly one hundred years after Baelz used the term, Robins was specifically insisting that blue-eyed blond-haired children could not have such a spot. By the time Baelz first attached "Mongolian" to these spots, "idiot" was no longer a specific enough term. At least certain "idiots" were now "Mongolian idiots": atavisms, reversions to "primitive" ancestral forms. "Mongolian blue spots" were viewed in precisely the same light.

A preeminent example of this line of reasoning may be found in an article published in 1905 by Dr. Albert S. Ashmead of New York, who had previously worked in Japan as the foreign medical director of Tokyo Hospital. Ashmead holds that

The Japanese race is notoriously a hybrid race: Mongolian, Malay and Negritoid or Papuan. . . . All Japanese can use their big toes as thumbs and use the nose to play a flute with, as the Malay. The races which did compose the Japanese race, with whom the original Hamite amalgamated, were ages behind in evolution of the white human species. . . . (207).

Ashmead takes particular offense at the remarks of a Japanese anthropologist, Professor Tsuboi of Tokyo University, who had contended that the Mongolian spot exists

in Europeans, but has already fully disappeared at the time of parturition! What nonsense it is thus to attempt to controvert the

real meaning of the Japanese Spots, present in all the other mixed negro races of the earth! A pure individual of Caucasian (white) race could no more have the violet spot of the Hamitic Japanese than could a pure Aino, who is of purest *white* Siberian blood (213).

Thus roused, Ashmead concludes by suggesting that

there is furnished to the offspring in utero, by the negro or negroid parent, too much pigment in the blood which must circulate through the placenta and the child during gestation. The excess settles in the part least developed, where another member once had been formed in distant ancestry: it is therefore of rudimentary growth (213-4).

Lest readers not fully comprehend such murky intimations, Ashmead further elucidates:

The Hamite and the monkey are hundreds of centuries closer to each other than the white races are to the black, whose evolution from Darwinian ancestry, or apes, has not yet wholly completed itself. . . . these pigmentary cells belong rather to the ape than to man, and. . . when we find them present at birth in dark races it implies a Simian inheritance which perhaps later on in his evolution he has completely lost (214).

Ashmead understands the "proper" pecking order of human evolution; "Mongolian spots" are mere supplementary evidence. So taken is he with the spot's indication of racial "pollution" that he cites an American example. The Mongolian spot occasionally occurs among the "Dr. Trumbull negroes" of St. Augustine, Florida,

Yet no one knows them to be black, except that a dark child is sometimes born and strangled by the beautiful women of that race descended from the old Negress of Spain, whom Dr. Trumbull married and brought to America with him (210).

The label "Mongolian" reified this phenomenon as a manifestation of racial origins. It is difficult to imagine that Ashmead would have written in the same way had these spots been designated differently. Darkly pigmented skin patches had been earlier noticed on the buttocks of babies, but it was not until they were dubbed "Mongolian" spots that the medical community stirred itself to search for them. "Idiots" had been recognized for centuries, but labeling certain "idiots" as "Mongoloids" similarly excited considerable research. And a zealous search it was for

intimations of "Mongolian descent" among Japanese, Chinese, Anamites, Koreans, Malaysians, Javanese, Indonesians, inhabitants of the Celebes, Samoans, Hawaiians, Eskimos, Mayan Indians, Araucanian Indians in Argentina, and among peoples of mixed racial backgrounds (Brennemann 1907: 16).

To the credit of American medical science, Ashmead had his detractors. The most notable was Joseph Brennemann of Illinois. Brennemann emphasized research by Japanese scientists on "white" European babies with "Mongolian spots." After ruling out "possible contamination by a dark race" and the "recurrence of a remote ancestral characteristic, or to a persistence, in spite of very great dilution, of a tenacious race characteristic (23),"⁷⁶ Brennemann proposes that

The deeper-lying pigment cells of the corium still persist in man as a localized transitory condition, limited normally to the latter part of intrauterine life and the first few years of infancy and childhood. In darker races, where there is more pigment in general, these cells are still sufficiently abundant to appear as the bluish spots of the sacro-lumbo-gluteal region and of other localities where pigmentation is normally deep—persisting for a variable time, in isolated cases only, to adult life. In the race of the least pigmentation, the Caucasian, the same pigment cells are present. . . . Very exceptionally do they occur in sufficient numbers or sufficiently concentrated to be visible as our blue spot (27).

In short the Mongolian spot is not "Mongolian," but characteristic of *Homo sapiens*, and merely more conspicuous in the "darker races." Brennemann's arguments appear to have received limited attention from the American medical establishment, which was still attracted to the marks as

indicators of racial origin: In some cases when the mother was of Mongolian type the spots were present with certain other Mongolian characteristics, such as the third eyelid. Consiglio has found such blue patches on about 2 percent of children in northern Italy and believes them to be attributes inherited from ancient Mongolian ancestors. Wigglesworth states that the Navajo Indians are supposed to have migrated from Asia, and by language tests ethnologists have been able to trace them as far as Alaska ("Mongolian Birth-Marks--The 'Blue Spot'" 1912: 1979).

This comment in the Journal of the American Medical Association drew an exasperated response from Brennemann a month later. He took the journal editors to task by declaring that the previous comment on Mongolian birthmarks was

so inadequate that it can hardly hope to escape correction. . . . the so-called Mongolian spot is not the heritage of any race; it is simply a vestigial normal human characteristic that appears in proportion as the race, or within the race the individual is deeply pigmented. It is not an atavism but a rudiment (Brennemann 1912: 2325).

Ashmead's influence proved, nevertheless, to be long-lasting. Sutton, in a book entitled Diseases of the Skin, cites Ashmead's work and the possibility that the mark is "a primitive simian character." He adds that "Their presence seems not to have factual relationship with mixture of racial blood, although the lesions are commoner in Mongolian and Negroid races than in the white" (1938: 614). Having to discount the relationship with "mixed blood" intimates a sufficient amount of thinking in that direction that needed rebutting. Significantly, Sutton does not refer to Brennemann. The very fact that the spots are included in the general topic of "diseases" marks their abnormality in his judgment. Sauer, writing nearly sixty years later in a similarly entitled work, Manual of Skin Diseases, offers a definition emphasizing not the physiological aspects of the phenomenon, but the racial: "*Mongolian spots* on the buttocks and sacral area are also commonly seen in yellow and black races" (1991: 340).

Not only is there a strong link in late twentieth medical science between Mongolian spots and race, there is also a link to mental retardation. Beratis *et al.* (1989), for example, studied a baby who presented with severe mental retardation and various skin disorders. Large "mongolian spots" were noted. The authors comment that "The large mongolian spots and the bluish spots on the anterior and posterior surface of the body are probably related to the basic disorder of the patient" (62). Just how they might be related is not revealed.

Nationalism has also been at work in inspiring and shaping work on the Mongolian spot. Japanese researchers have shown a steady interest in the phenomenon for more than one hundred years. Kikuchi (1982: 131) writes that

Though dermal melanocytosis appears to be another appropriate term for this condition, Mongolian spot will be used in this commentary in memory of Dr. Baelz, a respected physician in Japan's medical history.

He also mentions the early work of Adachi, who "found blue spots on the buttocks of Caucasian children" (131). Kikuchi, Professor of Dermatology at Miyazaki Medical College, offers a definition that includes a passage specifically aimed at the racial exclusiveness of most other definitions: blue spots

are found even in the normal-appearing buttocks of any newborn babies, irrespective of its race. It is the number of dermal melanocytes which is different between the normal-appearing buttocks and the blue buttocks of newborn babies (131).

He concludes that he is unable to explain the biological significance of the spots. Seven years later, however, he offered an interpretation (Kikuchi 1989). Noticing that the spots do not occur on the abdomen and, describing child flecks of various infant animals which serve as camouflage and then disappear as the animal ages, as do Mongolian spots, Kikuchi suggests that

The Mongolian spot is best interpreted as the human version of the child spots, such as the banded pattern of young wild boars--a sign that exists in the hope that the baby may evade enemies. The blue spot of humans and the banded patterns of wild boars share the following features: (1) pigmentary patterns over the dorsal areas, (2) individuality of patterns, and (3) transient presence in childhood (1989: 514).

For Kikuchi, Mongolian spots are not racial; they are dermal melanocytes distributed between collagen fibers and microscopically visible in one hundred percent of new born babies of every race. By stressing the nonracial nature of the spots and the fact that it was a Japanese who first found the spots on Caucasian children, Kikuchi seems still stung by Ashmead's much earlier racial slurs. Kikuchi must surely have been aware of Ashmead's earlier work, but does not allude to it. A sense of

nationalism is also revealed in his reasons for using "Mongolian spot" rather than a more exact clinical definition, to memorialize Dr. Baelz.

Several ironies should not escape our notice. The first is that it required a non-Caucasian to discover the existence of "Mongolian spots" in the Caucasian population, just as it had required a non-Asian to note the presence of the same spots on a non-Caucasian people. Secondly, as we have shown previously, Japanese romanticize the Mongols to whom they posit an ancestral link.⁷⁷ Mongolian spots, to the extent that they suggest such a link, would not be objectionable. On the other hand, to the extent that Mongolian spots prove Ashmead's argument--that Japanese are nearer the Simian rung of the evolutionary ladder than Caucasians--they are objectionable. Paralleling this is the sense of pride taken in the discovery of Mongolian spots by a doctor working in Japan with Japanese children, offset by the fact that this gives "scientific" grounding to those of Ashmead's racist persuasion.

If "Mongolian spot" literature is viewed as an edifice, it is one with a peculiar architecture. Baelz attached a questionable racial typology to a phenomenon that had already been recorded in scientific circles, but had received limited notice. The racial appellation quickly dissolved that invisibility. What had been a curiosity and grist for folklorists quickly became grist for new mills; the literary ones of the scientific community fascinated by the ideas of race and what science can make of its findings. Mongolian spots were particularly appealing. They *are* evident on most people of color, but not evident on most Caucasians. It was only a very small leap to link this "scientific fact" to prevalent attitudes concerning Caucasian supremacy. The inherent racial nature of the term has persisted through the late twentieth century with Japanese researchers offering definitions that emphasize the physiological aspects of the spots, that is, what lies beneath the surface and is not visible. This contrasts with American dermatologists, whose definitions have emphasized what can be seen on the skin surface and what races present such indications.⁷⁸

The Mongolian Eye

... Inge Morath⁷⁹ [was] sitting across the aisle from me besides two Mongolians. They were both over six feet tall and looked at her unsmilingly as she took her seat. The upper Mongolian eyelid has a curve at the outside corners, giving the face a fierce, frowning look. And with that built-in disapproval the man immediately next to her bent over to look into the book she opened. . . . (Morath and Miller 1969: 52).

As Arthur Miller indicates in the above passage, the human eye has long been spoken of as a barometer of human character, spanning a range from sexual appetite ("lustful," "gleaming"), conspiratorial thoughts ("cunning," "sharp"), intelligence, ("bright," "piercing"), old age ("watery," "unfocused"), to insanity ("mad," "clouded"). A middle-aged woman, when asked why she had voted for Richard Nixon, rather than John F. Kennedy, told a political science researcher "I would never vote for Kennedy because he has pig eyes."⁸⁰ Although this is anecdotal, it highlights the importance many people assign to the human eye as an indicator of personality.

It seems reasonable to suggest that natural scientists of the late twentieth century, as apostles of presumably unbiased and detached examinations of certain phenomena leading to secure facts and eventually gathered under the umbrella of theories capable of changing the way we think and live, would be inclined to put less emphasis on the eye as a transmitter of character. This is hardly the case. The noted historian of science, Steven Jay Gould, has taken leading experts on Neanderthals to task for engaging in just such unscientific capriciousness:

their worst overwriting occurs in their physical descriptions of scientists, for they adopt the formula of introducing each character with a sentence or two about his face, almost always concentrating on the eyes. If, as in John Aubrey's celebrated sendups of his seventeenth-century Oxford colleagues, such descriptions are based on personal knowledge or at least current gossip about eyes. . . then we may have us a passion, or at least entertaining malevolence. But I'm sure that Trinkaus and Shipman worked from photographs--and

I'd rather just have the snapshots so I can make my own inferences. On Dubois: "His pride and perhaps touchiness are evident in his forthright gaze." On Keith: "Photos of him. . . [show] a tense [man], with anxious eyes that seem to worry about what others are thinking or doing." On Teilhard de Chardin: "A tall, elegant man with an aquiline nose, kindly eyes, and prominent wrinkles, from smiling, at the sides of his mouth." On Hrdlika: "He had obviously inherited his father's intensity and ambition and his mother's emotionality [talk of gender stereotypes!], along with a head of thick, dark hair, piercing eyes, and a sensitive, full-lipped face." On Raymond Dart: "A bright boy with eager eyes." His fellow South African Robert Broom "sporting a silver crewcut and some round, metal-rimmed spectacles that could not hide a perpetual twinkle" (27).

Descriptions of the human eye go far beyond merely communicating basic human emotion and physical condition. The "Mongol eye" has a currency in medical literature founded in concern over racial mixing, a contention further confirmed by references in popular literature.

Historically, one of the most remarked upon features of the "Mongolian face" has been the "Mongolian eye," a designation used also in scientific literature. "Slant eye" and "slit eye" have abounded in the vernacular and the scientific literature, both in terms of language and in visual depiction. A Gilray cartoon (1982: 164) satirizing Lord Macartney's (1737-1806) embassy to China in 1793 to ask for free trade and diplomatic representation supplies a sense of the colloquial. The caption depicts a hugely corpulent emperor, clad in a tight-fitting robe and low-cut high-heel shoes, half-reclining on a low bed-platform. With a scraggly beard and puffing on a pipe of opium, the monarch is the essence of degeneration and moral corruption, further enhanced by a fleshy elbow turned to the viewer revealing long curved fingernails suggesting the bestial and also serving notice that he does nothing physical. Straggling into the hall, where the monarch is reclining, are a host of obsequious Britons proffering a collection of curiosities ranging from a shuttlecock and racket to a weather vane topped by a rooster. Behind the recumbent potentate stand three attendants; one clutches a huge sword, projecting the barbaric. But what leaps out to a late twentieth-century consciousness are the eyes of the "Orientals," which are

alarming forty-five degree slits framed by eyebrows that rise vertically from the nose. This differs little, in the image conjured, from the description employed more than one hundred years later, in 1993, by Rupert cited at the beginning of this discussion.

A second, more timely example of the vernacular invocation of the "Mongol eye" may be found in a story written by Leonard Michaels who, in 1991, was teaching at the University of California-Berkeley. The tale is included in a collection of The Best American Short Stories (1991) and is set in Cuba and Florida. As a young man, Zev Lurie, the central character, can crack open a padlock with his hands, and during his escape from Cuba after the Castro revolution he killed two soldiers. He disemboweled one with a knife and broke the neck of the other. At the time of the story, Lurie's nephew "stared at the epicanthic folds that lay on his tigerish, Genghis Khan eyes, [and felt] hypnotized by the force, the mystery of his particular being . . ." (289). This leaves little doubt as to the link between the epicanthic fold and perceived Mongol cruelty.

Though not as lurid, related scientific literature addresses similar concerns. In the late nineteenth-century the Journal of the American Medical Association (1892: 361), for example, published a short statement in its "Selections" section summarizing research on the topic published by the Boston Medical and Surgical Journal. The reader is assured that the "slit eye" phenomenon is not the result of the eyeball's being shaped any differently than that of "white people," or in iris coloration's differing from that of "white people." What is "peculiar" is the "expression to the eye" of the "Mongolians," a term that, as used here, alludes to Japanese. Not only do the Japanese have a "peculiar expression to the eye," but there is also a noticeable "lack of development" to certain portions of the eye, explaining the "peculiarity." The groove below the eyebrows, the orbital furrow, and cilia on the lower lid both exhibit such a "lack of development." Here difference does not create an urge to understand, but is automatically equated with "deficiency" and "absence." This pattern occurs time and time again with respect to "Mongolian differences."

"Mongolians" must have been considered to have oddly shaped eyeballs and different colored irises; otherwise, the writer would not have felt it necessary to negate this assumption. The use of "lack of development" in describing portions of the eye that explain such a "peculiarity" are oddly congruent with the view of "Mongolians" as lower on the scale of evolution than "white people." Moreover, the authors' assertion that when the "Mongolian fold" is large "it spreads to the inner part of the lower lid, in which case the upper lid does not cross the cornea horizontally, but obliquely," is a familiar one.

Since the fifteenth century, the term "obliquity" has come to mean, among other things, "deviation from moral rectitude or sound thinking." Precisely the same term has been used to describe the eyes of "Mongolians." For example, Dr. H. Gifford of Omaha, Nebraska wrote in 1928 of "the obliquity of the palpebral fissure in Mongolians" (887). Given the status of the "Mongolian races" it comes as no revelation that certain physical traits have been described in terms having negative moral connotations. Gifford specifically addresses "The common impression that a slanting palpebral fissure is characteristic of the Mongolian race" (1928: 887). His study had entailed examining 340 photographs of Chinese and "Japs." He concludes that "the Mongolian eye instead of being a slant-eye is a slit eye" (888). He ascribes the tenacious view that the Mongolian races have slanting eyes to "the fact that both in China and Japan slant-eyes are considered a mark of intellectual and social distinction and native artists love to depict their notables in this guise" (890).

A Japanese drawing and two photographs are shown as evidence of such tendencies. The drawing depicts a Samurai family of three adults and a child, all with slanting slits for eyes. One photograph shows a brooding male Japanese movie hero with heavy paint emphasizing the sense of upward tilted eyes. The Japanese actor's eyes are very heavily made-up. Black lines are drawn upward from the corners of his eyes and emphasized by another thick line high on the forehead, also slanting upward. To what extent this proves Gifford's claim that the Japanese consider such "a most

aristocratic feature and formerly having been regarded as almost a special privilege of the upper classes of the Samurai" (890), however, is problematic.

Interest in the Mongolian fold took certain eccentric turns. I. C. Wen (1934), at the encouragement of a host of Western researchers, noted confusion about the term itself and its meaning. In the cause of "racial embryology" he dissected the upper eyelids of nine "white" and twenty-one Chinese fetuses, ranging in age from fourteen weeks to term. He argued that his findings supported the "Chinese eye" as a "real racial difference" (1225). That a Chinese researcher was willing to establish a "Chinese eye" based on twenty-one specimens implies a belief in great homogeneity among "Chinese" people. That a prestigious journal would publish such further intimates that this was a scientifically acceptable idea, as was the belief that the eye exemplifies *racial* difference. Another bizarre conjecture appeared in the 1928 issue of the Journal of the American Medical Association. This was an era when scientists were enthralled by "glands" and the belief that the appropriate amount of certain substances could cure many disorders. An "Explanation for Mongolism" reported that "hyperthyroidism has been at work on the fetus that becomes a mongol." The evidence for this was that "Thyroid fed to tadpoles causes protrusion of the eyes." "Mongols eyes" could, thus, protrude and also be slanting and sloping.

Just how much Japanese, or any other group of people for that matter, might esteem the "Mongolian eye" has been questioned by Dr. John McCurdy, Jr. A clinical assistant professor of surgery at the University of Hawaii School of Medicine in Honolulu in 1990, his Cosmetic Surgery of the Asian Face employs "Mongoloid family of people," "Asian," and "Orientals" interchangeably. Sections entitled "Some Cultural and Psychological Considerations," "Basic Cultural Considerations," and "Importance of Beauty," in the introductory chapter seek to reassure us that ethnic sensibilities have been addressed. We are told that Orientals have a

strong belief in fate, destiny, and the importance of luck, both good and bad, in daily affairs. Certain maxims or folkloric superstitions (as evidenced in their sayings or proverbs) may be applied to important situations and challenges encountered in their daily lives (1990: 2).

McCurdy adds that "Physical beauty is important to Asians" (2), many of whom may feel guilty about altering a face inherited from their parents. Readers are also acquainted with the notion that Orientals have an appreciation for "harmony, symmetry, and beauty, as well as for attention to detail," which is evident "in the precision of Oriental craftsmanship."

Such vague, and at times patronizing generalizations about Mongoloids/Asians/Orientals⁸¹ suggest that Asians are superstitious and demanding in their desire for "aesthetic" operations to rid them of "excess skin and fat deposition" that "imparts an air of mystery and stoicism" as well as a "suggestion of ptosis."⁸² In its place they can obtain a "bright-eyed look associated with the double eyelid." William Styron invokes a similar image in describing Sophie's "eyes with their sleepy-sullen hint of Asia" (1983: 232). McCurdy also offers the reassurance that the desire for a double-eyelid operation is not due solely to Western influence. Examples to support this include photographs of Asian women using tape and glue to produce double eyelids. Later the Oriental eyelid--there is no mention of the "Mongolian" eyelid, perhaps because the author finds "Mongolian" too limiting in its geographical connotations--is compared with the Caucasian eyelid. The key difference is the abundance of fat in the former. Transforming the Oriental eyelid into a double eyelidded version is also called "Westernization of the eyelid."

The eye has also been used as a measure of "racial mixing." William Styron's rendering of Sophie suggests this, as does James Clavell in *Whirlwind* (1990). A secondary Russian character is described as "dark-haired, a little under six feet, in his thirties, his face weather-beaten, his eyes dark and Slavic--Mongol blood somewhere in his heritage" (87). James Michener makes explicit use of this motif in *Poland*, published in 1983. Two women, mother and daughter, are captured by a contingent of Mongol and Tartar troops in 1241 at the time Poland was invaded by an arm of the Mongol army. The two women are repeatedly raped. Later, they somehow manage to escape and return to their home, where they give birth to "bastards." Michener reminds us of the continued presence of "tainted blood" in Poles because "Such

events, repeated over the centuries, accounted for the fact that many Poles along the Vistula would have darkened skins and eyes slightly aslant, as if they represented echoes out of Asia" (58). This usage implies a belief in stern racial categories (to include "real white people") with concomitant bodily characteristics. Obviously, the "beautiful people of the world," should have large round eyes. If "white" individuals do not boast these traits, Mongol hordes may have come all too close to certain white female progenitors.

Has a double-lidded eye always been considered superior to a single eyelid? During the months that I spent in Ulaanbaatar in 1992-1993, I informally interviewed a number of Mongols about their southern cousins in the Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region of China. A commonly agreed upon point was that the Inner Mongolians are not "pure Mongols" because their eyes are narrower than the Mongols living north of the border, another example of "Chinese pollution."⁸³ During my residence in China I repeatedly heard that a person with "small eyes" looks crafty and dishonest. McCurdy's estimate of 250,000 double-eyelid operations annually in Asia suggests that, in the late twentieth century, many Asians consider a double-eyelid attractive.

To what extent this is due to "Westernization" or views embedded in indigenous Asian cultures remains to be ascertained. It can be ventured, however, that other attributes are far more important in defining the status and general attractiveness of an individual in many Asian environments. Among most Chinese and Mongols I associated with, for example, a person is evaluated based on his or her social class, parents' position, amount of education, lack of obvious physical and mental disabilities, age, income, and vocation. A single or double-lidded eye is inconsequential. McCurdy's insistence on an indigenous Asian desire for a double-lidded eye is, thus, far removed from Gifford's insistence that the Oriental eye is desirable and a token of high station in life.

It is clear, however, that the belief that a "Mongolian" eye is unattractive and "deficient" when compared to the eyes of "white people" or "Caucasians" has remained constant. There is a logical consistency in the views that evolved from

"lacking development" and "peculiar" in the late nineteenth century to a "need" for the eye to be "Westernized" a century later through radical surgical intervention. McCurdy, for instance, also presents radical surgical techniques, as well as "cultural considerations," for Westernizing the Asian brow, forehead, and nose.

CHAPTER 5

Travelers In The Deep Dark Heart Of Asia

For Britain, on the other hand, the Tartars lay on the other side, not just of the Himalayas but of a historical discontinuity. The fact that they had never been a real threat meant that they were to become an ideal bearer of Romantic projections in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. This historical and geographical discontinuity heightened the sense of the Tibetans' Otherness in the British imagination. In the eighteenth century, however, the Tartars still evoked, even for the British, the medieval European fear of unstoppable warriors streaming out from Central Asia under leaders such as Genghis Khan (Bishop 1989: 33).

Peter Bishop's The Myth of Shangri-La: Tibet, Travel Writing, and the Western Creation of Sacred Landscape has supplied several ideas applied here principally to American travelers in Mongol regions. There are important parallels between American travelers who have experienced Tibetans and Mongols, for both live in Inner Asia and, in certain areas, both geographically overlap.⁸⁴ These similarities and overlays do not disavow, however, the dissimilarities between Mongols and Tibetans. Their languages are disparate and each group has a very different view of its own history.

Bishop argues that natural landscape, for the most part, does not exist. Rather, cultures have sites that are officially created and then socially confirmed as hallowed. The extent to which such sites are constructed differently may be made plain in the case of Tibet when Americans and Han Chinese are compared. Many of the latter view Tibetans, particularly in the late twentieth century, as scarcely human and barren of culture. This belief, especially prevalent among college educated Han Chinese,

derives to a considerable degree from Marxist beliefs with "Chinese characteristics"⁸⁵ that are inculcated through the educational system and the mass media. Although Han people at the common level and the highly educated level share negative attitudes toward minorities, it is among the highly educated that "intellectual" reasons are offered, without the trace of an apology or embarrassment, for the superiority of Han over other groups.

Put simply, these beliefs posit that as man "developed," he naturally moved from such "primitive" forms of living as hunting-gathering and herding to a more civilized sedentary agricultural life and, finally, to a life in an urban setting. Han Chinese, being either involved in agricultural pursuits, or living in urban settings are, therefore, imminently superior to Tibetans and Mongols, many of whom are still represented to be "stuck" at the "primitive" stage. This factor alone is "proof" of the superiority of Han Chinese. Evidence for this argument in the case of Tibetans can be found in Fong and Spickard's study of images and social distance between Han Chinese and non-Han ethnics based on responses from 169 Han students in Nankai University located in Tianjin, China. The authors conclude that

The domestic minority that the Han viewed most negatively was the Tibetans. Only 27 percent of the adjectives describing them were positive, and most were extremely insulting, emphasizing primitiveness, violence, and stupidity (1994: 38-39).

Overall, the students were more kindly disposed toward Mongols than Tibetans.⁸⁶

Such analyses are particularly prevalent in border areas such as Qinghai and Inner Mongolia, where I lived from 1984-1997. I was often informed by Han Chinese that they had come to these regions to "help develop the border areas." Closer to the truth is that they were either desperately poor in "inner China" and came to border areas as immigrants seeking a better life, or else they did not have the political connections to remain in inland China near their ancestral homes. For example, once, when I was interviewing Han Chinese middle school English teachers during an oral English examination, I asked a man in his forties why he was working in Golmud.⁸⁷ He explained that he was originally from China's southeastern Guangdong Province,⁸⁸

had joined the People's Liberation Army, had been discharged, and had decided to come to Golmud to "help develop the area." Golmud is Qinghai's second largest municipality and a major "jumping off" point for overland traffic to Lhasa. The much touted "Inner China-Tibet" railway expires abruptly in Golmud, many hundreds of kilometers from the Tibetan Autonomous Region's northern border. Extolled as the "City of Trucks," Golmud is a windy, dusty city of more than 200,000 primarily Han Chinese residents with few prospects in their ancestral areas located in central and southern China. An equally credible interpretation of the presence of the discharged PLA soldier in Golmud is that, with little or no compensation for his years of military service, his relatives or friends in Golmud arranged through bribes an English teaching job for him. Guangdong, a much richer province than Qinghai with stiffer requirements for prospective teachers, undoubtedly offered no English teaching opportunities for him.

In China, both Hohhot, the capital of the Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region, and Xining, the capital of Qinghai Province, are comparable to the capitals of destitute countries. They are the centers of population concentration within their respective regions and all good things are concentrated there. Thus, the best education, medical care, and housing are disproportionately devoted to Han Chinese nonnatives, a typical situation throughout minority regions of China. It thus becomes serviceable for Han Chinese immigrants⁸⁹ to invoke cultural superiority in order to justify their existence and why they take the best of what the regions have to offer. Besides invoking such superiority on a personal level, it also is essential to expound this as a national creed, given that more than sixty percent of China's geography is traditionally comprised of non-Han areas. It should come as no surprise, therefore, that Tibetan, Mongol, and minority areas are seen as dumping grounds for college and university students with the poorest academic performance, people who have made political "mistakes," those without political connections, and individuals too poor to bribe their way to better assignments.

It also explains why non-Han peoples who wear traditional clothing, are dark-skinned, and who do not speak Modern Standard Chinese well are routinely turned away from health care facilities and hotels on such grounds that, for example, the hotel is full and unable to take more lodgers. In the case of health care facilities, there are often no minority-language speaking medical personnel able to deal with those who do not speak Modern Standard Chinese. There is also a sense that non-Han patients from rural areas are "dirty" and "difficult to manage." As Harrell (1995: 26) observes, the almost visceral Han feeling of superiority means that China's policy will be based on the assumption that Han ways are the only norm and only peripheral peoples who can pass for Han Chinese will be treated with some degree of equality. This is truly different from the late twentieth century American view of Tibet as a spiritual and arcadian Shangri-la, with nirvana an ever real potentiality just around the bend. In stark contrast "Mongolia," wherever and whatever Americans envisage it to be, is not a "sacred place" and my comments in this chapter do not concern its manufacture in these terms. Few Americans have attempted consciously to sum up what Mongolia means to them in terms of images, and they have presented ideas mostly in keeping with what has been discussed so far.

John Noble Wilford, a science news reporter for The New York Times, provides a recent image (1992). In discussing the awesomeness of the Gobi Desert and the difficulty of navigating there, even with sophisticated link-ups to satellites, he invokes Joseph Conrad's and Graham Greene's fascination with blank spaces on maps because these suggest mystery, the exotic, and danger. They also represent a possible conquest, because the lack of previous mapping suggests spaces where a white man can place his foot and declare he is the first. This theme occurs frequently in travel writing about Mongolia. Jasper Becker (1992) begins his examination of the Mongols and Mongol areas with "In the heart of Asia lies the enormous and forgotten land of the Mongols" (1) and in several pages of introduction invokes most of the stereotypes Americans and Europeans harbor about these people: Chinggis Khan, "a depraved and syphilitic God-King," cowardice, "blanket of darkness," "grand and empty lands,"

"raw flesh my food," "barbarian tribes," "Kublai Khan," sexual orgies," and a bizarre religion. Becker's title recalls the exploration of E. M.'s corpse by the pair of curious nineteenth-century physicians. In the same way that her decomposing body represented the heart of a mysterious landscape those performing the autopsy were traversing, so Becker promises, in The Lost County: Mongolia Revealed to explicate fully the conundrum of Mongolia.

Newspaper and magazine reporting, because of limitations of space, demands a more terse summoning of familiar stereotypes in order to engage the reader. Nicholas D. Kristof, head of the Beijing bureau of The New York Times in 1992, provides a typical example in an article entitled "In the Land of Genghis Khan":

Out on the steppes, where the prairies stretch endlessly until they melt into mountain crags on the horizon, there's not much sign of the last few million years of human civilization. At most, one sees an occasional rutted dirt road or a shepherd's tent exhaling a plume of white smoke from a cooking fire made of cow chips.

Mongolia, after all, has been in a funk for the last seven centuries.

To be sure Genghis Khan did pretty well for himself in the 1200's, establishing the largest continuous land empire the world has ever known.

One would be hard-pressed to find a better summing up of American ideas and attitudes toward the Mongols that Kristof apparently feels the need to play to in order to garner attention with his leading paragraphs. A Western reporter in Ulaanbaatar in 1992 told me that it was difficult to publish an article about Mongolia without resorting to a "yurt," a yak, nomads, or Chinggis Khan. Kristof's lead-in paragraphs lend support to that view and to the argument made previously that it is a great deal easier to reinvoké time-honored images, whatever their veracity, than to attempt a more sensitive and factual representation of the Mongol reality of today. This is particularly true of newspaper and magazine reporting, even by those who surely know better.

Two writers who do know better, but have sought to capitalize on precisely these themes, are Melvyn C. Goldstein and Cynthia M. Beall, both professors of

anthropology at Case Western Reserve University in 1994. In a large coffee-table style picture book entitled The Changing World of Mongolia's Nomads they carefully avoid writing that nomads represent the "typical" Mongol or that most Mongols are nomads. They are undoubtedly familiar with Mongolia's population statistics, which have already been alluded to. However, there is nothing in the text that suggests that a book of photographs devoted almost exclusively to herding life represents a decided minority of Mongolia's population. There are only six pages from a total of approximately 150 pages featuring photographs devoted to something besides herding or "wild-countryside" activity. Interestingly, the two anthropologists warn against "an ancient stereotype. Mention Mongolia, and what comes to mind are images of fierce, bloodthirsty hordes of hard-riding nomads. . ." (11). The same images are also projected in a National Geographic article by the same authors. Under the title and the authors' names appears "Where Genghis Khan and his hordes once rode, a herder moves his household by Bactrian camel from one camp to another" (Beall and Goldstein 1994: 127). In functioning in terms of the above stereotype, the authors invoke the certainty and authority of pictorial representation. This does not suggest that their writings about Mongols as nomads have no value. They do have worth in documenting, in often stunning photographs, something of the details of ordinary herding life in Mongolia at this time, but such depictions are not representative of how most Mongols live.

Themes that will be examined include the stance writers take toward their travels, that is, the rationales offered and the tones of their reactions to being in Mongol areas and their general responses to Mongol peoples who appear as companions/guides and other Mongols encountered along the way. The narrative content of travelers' writings and visual images, such as drawings and photographs, that are included in their works will also be discussed. In addressing travelers in Mongol areas, their travel writings and not works of serious scholarship will be the focus of attention. Travel writing, at least in part, dictates a stance toward the Mongols that limits objectivity and demands the expression of certain biases. I do not

argue that such a stance taken in travel writing necessarily must be reflected in all scholarly writings involving the Mongols.

Roy Chapman Andrews

I am a naturalist who has wandered into many of the far corners of the earth. I have seen strange men and things, but what I saw on the great Mongolian plateau fairly took my breath away and left me dazed, utterly unable to adjust my mental perspective (Andrews 1921: 1).

The dinosaur-hunting revolver-packing Roy Chapman Andrews,⁹⁰ who may have served as a model for "Indiana Jones" (Preston 1987: 98), was born January 26, 1884 in Beloit, Wisconsin. He was hired by the American Museum of Natural History in 1906 soon after graduating from Beloit College. In the ensuing eight years he specialized in whales and other aquatic mammals, which took him to Alaska, the Dutch East Indies, and northern Korea. Later, as the chief of the division of Asiatic exploration of the same museum, he conducted three excursions to China, Tibet, Burma, Mongolia, and Central Asia. During the course of the third Asian expedition the first dinosaur eggs were found and various other fossils of large mammals, which earned Andrews a great deal of attention and provided materials for a number of his publications. He died in 1960 in Carmel, California.

Andrews' notoriety derived from popular interest aroused by dinosaur eggs, fossilized dinosaur remains, the idea that the "missing link" was what Andrews and his colleagues were searching for, as well as the exotic nature of Mongolia. This interest was great enough that it "brought thousands of applications to join the expedition" and as many as a hundred letters a day to the Museum (Andrews 1922: 17-18). The connection in the minds of some Westerners between Mongolia and dinosaurs was long lasting, as evidenced by a 1991 poem titled "Archeology," in which Steven Hirsch writes

Young Mongolians rising up out of their acid-bath of volcanic lake
to expose their frigid bones--bleached & beaten in the snow

Andrews first experienced Mongolia in 1918 when he set out to collect animal specimens for the American Museum of Natural History, which he described in Across Mongolian Plains: A Naturalist's Account of China's "Great Northwest." Between pages eight and nine is inserted "Plate 1," which features black-and-white photographs of Andrews on the front side and, on the reverse side, his wife, Yvette Borup, who is listed as the "photographer of the expedition." The photograph of Andrews depicts him staring directly at the camera while mounted on a horse named "Kublai Khan." The caption reads "Roy Chapman Andrews on 'Kublai Khan.'" In his right hand he holds a rifle, an American-West hat cocked at a jaunty angle and pulled down low is on his head, his left hand holds the reins with his left thumb over the rifle barrel, and draped across the horse's haunches is a dead antlerless antelope. One side of the antelope's head, with its tongue sticking out, faces the viewer as it dangles below the horse's belly. The horse's mane has been trimmed short, the front of the stirrups are covered with pieces of leather, and Andrews sits on a Western saddle. He wears dark tight-fitting pants, high leather boots, and a jacket with the collar turned up. In the background stretching into the distance is a broad expanse of grassland uninterrupted by livestock, points of elevation, or indications of human habitation.

The photograph, on the reverse side of the same page, of Andrew's wife shows her also on horseback. The caption reads "Yvette Borup Andrews, photographer of the expedition." She wears light-colored riding trousers and a matching long-sleeved shirt, upper-calf-length leather boots, and a snug cap. Like her husband, she also sits on a Western saddle. Unlike him, however, she carries no firearms and there are no dead antelopes in the photograph. Her horse is decidedly less attractive than "Kublai Khan." A number of its ribs are visible and on its left side, just above the tail, a hairless patch of flesh is visible.

These pictures, which appear to be painstakingly posed and selected by the Andrews, suggest that they were in Mongolia very much on their own terms. There

was apparently little desire to dress in "native costumes" and use Mongol saddles. This impression of being in Mongolia surrounded by a protective cocoon of culturally familiar accessories is heightened by such moments as "tiffin"⁹¹ at a tiny Chinese inn" and traveling with other non-Asians fluent in English. Thus the emotion Andrews expresses one night, after digging a trench for his hip and shoulder, positioning his sleeping bag, and lying down--

with surging blood I listened until I caught the measured tread of padded feet, and saw the black silhouettes of rounded bodies and curving necks [camels]. Oh, to be with them, to travel as Marco Polo traveled, and to learn the heart of the desert in the long night marches!
(12)

--seems strangely contradictory.

After an initial twenty-four pages of travel narrative consisting of a hunt and descriptions of singular landscapes and various wild animals, the Andrews observe that they reached the courtyard of the Mongolian Trading Company in Urga, the present Ulaanbaatar. Four days later they returned to Kalgan, a trip plagued by automobile mechanical problems. The winter of 1918-1919 was spent in Beijing. On May 17 they started anew for Urga. An aspect of this trip they found particularly thrilling was shooting antelopes from speeding automobiles. They discovered, for example, that when the party sped after an antelope herd, a long string of racing antelopes would invariably cross in front of the pursuing automobiles, which provided better shooting opportunities. After blasting away at a number of antelopes, Andrews describes himself as intrigued by how fast one buck ran, even though it had a broken right foreleg from a previous shot:

We gained slowly [in the pursuing car] and, when about one hundred yards away, I leaped out and fired at the animal breaking the other foreleg low down on the left side. Even with two legs injured it still traveled at a rate of fifteen miles [an hour] and a third shot was required to finish the unfortunate business. We found that both limbs were broken below the knee, and that the animal had been running on the stumps (49).

These descriptions of chasing and killing antelopes fall within the scope of the book's intention, which Andrews gives notice of in the preface, that is, it was written "entirely from the sportsman's standpoint" and with a purposeful avoiding of "scientific details which would prove uninteresting or wearisome to the general public" (vii). The enjoyment garnered from such hunts also reflects how relative notions are about what constitutes cruelty. Andrews notes, for example that the "Mongols seem unnecessarily rough and almost brutal" (96) in their handling of horses. His hunting vignettes seem to have been popular at that time. The final page of Across Mongolian Plains features advertisements for other "Books For Sportsmen." These include "a fascinating--and often thrilling--account of whales and their habits, the modern shore-whaling industry, and hunting experiences," "practical advice, written in delightful style, on what to wear, cook, eat, etc., and how to enjoy yourself in the woods and fields," and "a compendium full of practical hints and suggestions, recipes, and formulas for the working taxidermist."

Andrews observes that he was also eager to "see Mongols, to register first impressions of a people of whom I had dreamed so much" (8). He expresses disappointment that, north from Kalgan, the people they met were Chinese. Somewhat later the first Mongol settlement that was encountered proved displeasing. Though people there lived in *gers*, the "Mongols of the village were rather disappointing, for many of them showed a strong element of Chinese blood" (10). Just how this was discerned, the reader is not informed. Furthermore, Andrews was annoyed that "The headdresses of the southern women are by no means as elaborate as those in the north" (10). When Andrews spotted "our first northern Mongol I was delighted" (21). Evidently these Mongolians were dressed in ways that struck him as colorfully exotic as exemplified in his description of their clothing, headgear, and riding habits. This fascination carries over into Andrews assessment of Mongol character as well:

Not only does the Mongol inspire you with admiration for his full-blooded, virile manhood, but also you like him because he likes you.
 I believe that the average white man can get on terms of easy

familiarity, and even intimacy, with Mongols more rapidly than with any other Orientals (22).

There are times, however, when Andrews seems to border on the insulting when he describes Mongols. For example, he gave a Mongol woman a mirror. When the woman looked at her reflection "She seemed pleased, though I don't know why she should have been" (Andrews 1954: 146). Given that the woman was "violently sick" immediately after seeing Andrews the first time, she may have been more affected by his unusualness than he by hers.

Urga is depicted as "an American frontier outpost of the Indian fighting days" (65), a "strange drama of the Orient" (66), a "holy city," and a "dream-life of the Middle Ages" (66):

It was like a painting of the Middle Ages--like a picture of the Middle Ages--like a picture of the days of Kublai Khan, when the Mongol court was the most splendid the world has ever seen. My wife and I were fascinated, for this was the Mongolia of our dreams (Andrews 1921: 91).

On June sixteenth the Andrews began a final hunt in Mongolia south of Urga that lasted two months. During this period they killed a large number of assorted life forms for sport and specimens. Afterwards, they returned to Urga and then set off for a forested location approximately eighty kilometers from Urga where they became

Mongols in all essentials. The primitive instincts, which lie just below the surface in us all, responded to the subtle lure of nature and without an effort we slipped into the care-free life of these children of the woods and plains (Andrews 1921: 156-157).

An analysis of the "reality" of Mongolia is not attempted in the text itself, although in an introduction Andrews gives a brief overview of contemporary Mongol history. The Mongols that Andrews talks of encountering are viewed from a considerable distance. Andrews also displays several inconsistencies. His desire to be in a Mongolia beyond the reaches of time, permanently abiding in the glory days of the medieval khans, a Mongolia that is a receptacle of mystery, a repository, in his words, of the "Great Unknown" is clear from the beginning. "Under the spell of the

starry, desert sky," writes Andrews of the moment just prior to setting out for an excursion in Mongolia,

I drifted back again in thought to the glorious days of Kublai Khan. . . . I realized then that, for better or for worse, the sanctity of the desert was gone forever. Camels will still plod their silent way across the age-old plains, but the mystery is lost. The secrets which were yielded up to but a chosen few are open now to all, and the world and his wife will speed their noisy course across the miles of rolling prairie, hearing nothing, feeling nothing, knowing nothing of that resistless desert charm which led men out into the Great Unknown (Andrews 1921: 7).

This distress was engendered by the use of motor cars, not camels and horses, to travel in Mongolia. It did not prevent Andrews, however, from making use of contemporary technology in the form of high-powered rifles and automobiles while, at the same time, bemoaning "the passing of Mongolian mystery." He believes the use of such will shatter the Mongolia of his dreams, divesting it of its romanticism. This sense of contradiction is also heightened by his call for wildlife conservation measures, given his estimate that he and his party were, in the end, taking more than one thousand animal specimens back to the United States. The total number of creatures killed by his party must have been much higher, for many were shot for "sport."

Andrews' use of language resonates with such concepts of "sport." For example, he announces that Mongolia "was the place to start the scientific attack upon central Asia" (Andrews 1932: 4) in the first chapter of The New Conquest of Central Asia. This book describes how Mongolia was "attacked" and "conquered" by American scientists bent on extracting "secrets" from the "heart of Asia." Ostensibly, from the title, Andrews feels that they were successful, albeit not without fearful struggles and the encountering of numerous dangers that Andrews later worked into various popular accounts. Heart of Danger, for example, gets its name from an identically titled story of an honorable bandit Andrews had dealings with who ultimately served the cooked hearts of his daughter and wife to a number of invited guests. Although Andrews was not in attendance, he assures the reader in the "Foreword" that all the accounts "are fact, not fiction," because "the people of the

Orient haven't changed, nor will they change for generations to come" (Andrews 1951: 7).

All this leads to the conclusion that Andrews was never really in Mongolia in the sense that being in a country or location suggests that local conditions and customs have some influence on personal behavior and alter, however slightly, the sojourner's outlook on life by asking him to reevaluate his own beliefs. Acting out fantasies of being somewhere between the unexplored Amazon and the American West and searching for great adventure and fulfillment of fanciful personal fantasies hardly qualify.

Owen Lattimore (1900-1989)

Owen Lattimore is the only American I could locate who published a lengthy and detailed description of his reactions to being in Mongol areas during the same period as Andrews. Besides, Mongol Journeys is the sole published work by an American that I am aware of containing a chapter on a Mongol companion, Arash, who informed, created, and supplied a sizable amount of the material that Lattimore used in the book. Lattimore is well-known to many in the field of Mongol and Central Asian studies. He was born in Washington, D. C. in 1900. His father was an agnostic teacher of Latin, Greek, French, and English skills that would take the family to China in 1901, where David Lattimore would teach for the next twenty years. Subsequently, Lattimore received more education in Switzerland and Great Britain. After working as a businessman in China for some years and publishing travel accounts, in 1933 he was made editor of the Institute of Pacific Relations' journal Pacific Affairs that continues today to be widely read. His books, particularly his accounts of travel by camel, proved popular and their sales helped in his receipt of grants that allowed him to study in London and the Soviet Union. He advised Chiang Kai-shek, and accompanied Vice-President Henry Wallace to Mongolia. After World War II he was a professor at The Johns Hopkins University. In 1950 he was identified by Wisconsin

Senator Joseph McCarthy as "the top Soviet espionage agent in the United States," and the "man who lost China." This led to Lattimore's departure to more friendly climes, specifically, Leeds University in England, where he established a Mongol studies program. At an advanced age, he returned to the United States to live with his grandson and son until his death in 1989 ("Milestones. Died. Owen Lattimore." 1989: 73, Krueger 1989: 22, Newman 1992, Salisbury 1992b).⁹²

Harrison Salisbury, though entirely sympathetic with Lattimore for being wrongfully persecuted, acidly comments that without the anti-Communist dementia of the late 1940s and early 1950s, Lattimore as a "marginal China hand"⁹³ would have lived out his "life as a rather obscure if cantankerous scholar in the backwater field of Mongolian studies." Salisbury also notes that at the same time Lattimore was being scalded with the epithet "top Russian spy," his photograph and that of Roy Chapman Andrews were on exhibit in the Ulaanbaatar State Museum as examples of two American espionage agents.

Lattimore was not allowed back into Mongolian areas until the early 1960s and this time it was the People's Republic of Mongolia, which he had never visited before. The reaction in China was equally frosty. Although he visited China in 1971⁹⁴ at Zhou Enlai's invitation, by 1973 Lattimore was being used by the Gang of Four to attack Zhou Enlai and then the cold war slander was revived, with Lattimore labeled as a reactionary historian and an international spy.⁹⁵ In another example of a mainstream American reaction to Lattimore's death, Time's nine column-lines of obituary did not mention any Mongol association. Rather, it played up the McCarthy angle, strengthening Salisbury's assertion about the unimportance of the field of Mongol studies in the United States.

Mongol Journeys presents three sorts of travel. The first is a trip into the present-day Ordos region of Inner Mongolia, which is one site where Chinggis Khan's remains are reputed to have been interred.⁹⁶ The second involves Arash in Inner Mongolia. The third does not represent movement over landscape, but rather, by knitting together Mongol folklore accounts, snippets of history, selected bits of

religion, and his at times rambling commentary about Mongol-related topics, Lattimore seeks to persuade the reader that the secrets of "Mongolness" are being plumbed through an ever deeper penetration into the very essence of the culture.

On a practical level, Mongol Journeys provides Lattimore with a publishable forum for disconnected bits of folklore, diary accounts, and personal speculations that do not belong in academic journals. This rather diffuse focus is set forth in his introduction as the motivation for this writing. It is to provide a "record of a vanishing way of life, partly a footnote on the process of decay and destruction [of Mongol life], partly a glimpse of that which is coming to pass" (ix). The stimulus for the trip to the Chinggis Khan site was a desire to "search" for the "sanctuary of Jenghis Khan" and record the exhilarating details of going through

a ceremony which has never, as far as I know, ever been witnessed by strangers like ourselves. According to the protocol and the intent (however shabby and pathetic the imitation of ancient splendor), we were to be received in imperial audience by the greatest conqueror in all the bloody history of war (29).

This establishes a sense of mission. "Ourselves" does not include Arash, but rather Lattimore and his Swedish friend, Torgny Öberg, that is, Westerners. The parenthetical comment "however shabby and pathetic the imitation of splendor" puts Lattimore in the familiar position of employing Western standards, or imagined Mongol standards of the thirteenth century, to measure and pass judgment on the Mongols and Mongol rituals that he finds wanting.

Through his acquaintanceship with Mongol leaders, Lattimore procured a document giving him the right to *olagha*, that is, the right to commandeer animals from the local populace without pay and to be provided with a military escort, who would also require mounts, thus increasing further the burden on Ordos residents. Interestingly, Lattimore does not shy away from describing just how much misery this causes:

On the whole journey we straggled across country from farm to farm, hovel to hovel, field to field, in search of something to ride. Several times a horse would be taken straight from the plow and ridden for

twenty miles--the owner, with no preparation, no food, no bedding, leaving his plow in the furrow and trotting despondently after us.

Pretty sickening, but this was the Ordos of the people of the Ordos, not of "rich foreign travelers." Besides it was the only way to get through (13).

In every instance that Lattimore presents, however, a person did not "trot" behind the group, waiting until his animal was cast aside. It is likely that certain of the animals expropriated by Lattimore's party were never regained by their owners. One case provides an example of just how much grief Lattimore and his company inflicted:

The people here were nasty, but our new Chinese soldier was even nastier, and he stirred up the devilment of our Dalat men; they were brutal and dull, but he was cruel and clever. Before anyone could escape from the farm [that Lattimore and his party were approaching] he galloped ahead and caught a half-grown boy. He gave him a couple of lashes with his whip, and as we came up we saw that it was his manner even more than the whip that made him tell: a cocksure but cold manner which meant that he knew plenty of other things to do. The boy told right away where the grass [livestock fodder] was hidden. . . .

In the same nasty way our soldiers went into the miserable farm and arranged [for us] to stay for the night. The people were an old woman, who was plainly the real boss, and her husband. . . . The woman had also been a prostitute and had two slattern daughters who knew the same trade. . . .

We all [of Lattimore's party] slept in the main room. For fear we should steal the old woman did not want to sleep in another room. . . . they were all tough and they were all cunning, and they moved against each other with a sneaking malevolence. . . . The old woman threw a heart attack--"too sick to move." She faked it so hard that she could not refuse "treatment." One of our Mongols insisted on needle [acupuncture] treatment. . . . He ran a needle into her elbow joint several times, so deep and so painfully that she had to give up and admit she was cured--but still too weak to leave the room (23-24).

In the case of the people whose livestock and other property were appropriated by Lattimore's party, it is reasonable to assume that they wished he had been moving through their area by means of less destructive "rich foreigner travel." The man who provided the document empowering Lattimore with the right to commandeer livestock is depicted as a country bumpkin. Apparently, being obtuse is

justification for taking advantage of someone, for Lattimore does not explain in detail to the Mongol official the possible negative consequences of his visit to the Chinggis festival. Had he done so, he reasons, he might not have been issued the paper. Blaming the victims for their victimization is an important insight into understanding Lattimore and his stance toward the Mongols. That the old woman and her "slattern" daughters had been prostitutes (one wonders how Lattimore learned this) seems to be grounds for their exploitation.

Later, in Inner Asian Frontiers, Lattimore frequently employs the terms "barbarian"⁹⁷ and "civilized" to refer respectively to Mongols and Han Chinese. Additionally, in the same work when discussing historical process, he refers to

one of the major phenomena of Inner Asian history--the constant alternation of evolution and devolution of the structure of "tribal" and "barbarian" societies in contact with the high agricultural and urban societies to the south of them (xi).

For Lattimore, "evolution" and "devolution" have several aspects. These involve a lessening of Mongol wealth, power, and grandeur from the time of the Mongol empire in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries as compared with the condition of the Mongols in the twentieth century. "Devolution" suggests that the Mongols had once controlled "high agricultural and urban societies" but, later, fell back to a nomadic state. Finally, these terms, in the case of Ordos Mongols, appear as a moral verdict, that is, "devolution" is so complete that the people themselves are morally bankrupt. Furthermore, a sense of distaste carries over into Lattimore's evaluation of Ordos folklore; it had "no history, [but] there was plenty of myth and superstition" (20). This disaffection does not, however, prevent Lattimore from utilizing several Ordos folklore accounts in his description of his daring exploits in reaching the "sanctuary" of the Great Khan. Later, when traveling with Arash in Inner Mongolia, Lattimore waxes lyrically about the great value of Mongol folklore, describing its "unwritten tradition as of great value" (91).

When Lattimore was not dodging bandits in this lawless brigand-infested area, adding a heroic dimension to his mission to observe the Chinggis mysteries, and

commandeering livestock, he and Torgny Öberg were being treated like "some very special emissaries [who] had appeared with powerful papers" (44). This leads Lattimore to suggest the image he had projected was "somebody indefinite but important" (45). The description of the festival is additional proof of this. Much of this depiction is constructed from reports of how he was dealt with and for what reason, including portraying an obliging and hospitable incarnation lama as a none-too-bright syphilitic "Potato Buddha" waited on by two young women. Lattimore had met this personage before in Beijing and had helped him. The incarnation lama now wished to show his gratitude by deferentially insisting that Lattimore ride his horse while he led it. Lattimore depicts this event in self-aggrandizing terms:

After I had been there quite a while--long enough, as I heard afterward, for word to fly around among the Mongols that the holiest man on the spot was entertaining a stranger who must be pretty terrific, to have so long an audience. . . .

So there I was, mounted, and a gegen [incarnation lama] on his feet. Looking down on a gegen! I shall not even attempt to describe the stupendousness of this. . . . What a servant does for his master, a warrior for his chief, what Moholi did for Jenghis--but not what a gegen does for a foreigner (46-47).

Moreover, Lattimore undeniably had separated himself from the Mongols, psychologically and, most revealingly, physically. "Strangers like ourselves" exclude Arash, whom, by this time, Lattimore had known for several years. Tellingly, it was Lattimore and Öberg who went through the Chinggis ritual together. There is no explanation as to why Arash did not participate and, more tellingly, no *need* to explain. Later in Mongol Journeys, Lattimore uses "ours" and "we" (e.g., 185, 186) explicitly to differentiate between Americans (the audience for his book) and Mongols. The physical separation is made equally clear. Lattimore evidently thinks that his readers would be interested in knowing Arash was kept at a physical distance when it was time to sleep. While at the Chinggis ceremonies "It was cold in the tent at night. Torgny and I spread his coat under us and mine over us and slept huddled together. Arash rolled himself in his own sheepskin" (34). Still later in Mongol

Journeys Lattimore, his wife, a young female named Dolly Tyler, Öberg, Öberg's wife, and Arash set out on some days of leisurely summer travel in the Inner Mongolia countryside. While staying at a Tibetan-style monastery, the Westerners "slept on a brick platform or k'ang that took up a large part of the room. It just held all of us, parallel, wedged a little tightly, except for Arash, who slept across our feet" (79). Those familiar with the Mongol sense that feet are "dirty" would understand that this is not the position that Arash would have preferred, given the choice.

The moment when Lattimore does drop his pejorative descriptive style is when he details his participation in the Chinggis ritual. Instructed by officials of the observances, he and Öberg presented sundry offerings and made various obeisances to articles of worship, including reverently touching their foreheads to what was represented to be Chinggis Khan's coffin. Lattimore writes that "he was never more absorbed in his life" (36). The effect of witnessing/participating in Mongol religious rituals also had a powerful effect on Andrews. When first witnessing a Mongol religious ceremony, the easily-stirred Andrews found it "intoxicating in its barbaric splendor" (73) and it

set the blood leaping in my veins. There was a strange dizziness in my head, and I had an almost overpowering desire to fall on my knees with the Mongols and join in the chorus of adoration. The subtle smell of burning incense, the brilliant colors, and the barbaric music were like an intoxicating drink which inflamed the senses but dulled the brain. It was then that I came nearest to understanding the religious fanaticism of the East. Even with a background of twentieth-century civilization I felt its sensuous power (Andrews 1921: 73).

Lattimore seems to have been less emotionally affected. He cannot, for example, help noting that he was nearly unable to keep himself from "chuckling that Torgny, the son of missionaries, was prostrating himself in this heathen ritual and just as fascinated by it as I" (36). Lattimore's relative seriousness and suspended sense of judgment seem to have emanated from a feeling that ritual, by definition, is sacred and deserving of solemnity. This is, however, neither a Mongol nor Chinese attitude, as Almaz Khan (1995a) makes clear in his description of the same ritual, which he attended nearly a

half-century later: "The general atmosphere of the worship session was not rigid, excessively formal, or stifflingly solemn" (271).

Because there are so few examples of descriptions in English written by Mongols, Khan's rendition of this ritual is of value in delineating Mongol-Western differences in attitude and perception. Khan, a native of Inner Mongolia and a doctoral candidate in the Department of Anthropology at the University of Washington-Seattle in 1997, describes his 1986⁹⁸ experiences of this festival in the larger context of the emergence and transformation of Mongol ethnicity as related to Chinggis Khan, a key Mongol cultural symbol. Khan's description differs significantly from Lattimore's. The first person has been de-emphasized; readers are not aware of a consciousness ever on the lookout for "Potato Buddhas" and other phenomena to look down upon. Secondly, Khan exhibits a great deal more sophistication than does Lattimore in an examination of the form and content of the ritual, and how these have evolved "from an imperial ancestral institution exploited as a symbol of political legitimacy, to a popular ethnic tradition pregnant with contemporary signification" (273).

While Lattimore announces that he is the first white man to have ever seen such pagan goings-on, Kahn is

moved by the tremendous effort the Mongols have exerted in preserving their culture and identity, as expressed in the course of this traditional event. I was particularly struck by the general efficacy of the rituals--and, indeed, of simply being there--on festival-goers as well as on serious pilgrims (269).

In contrast, Lattimore can only bemoan the fact that the ceremony surely lacks the splendor it must have had in the thirteenth century. He depicts himself as much more curious about how others were reacting to him, rather than about Mongols' reactions to what was going on at the festival. This makes sense in that Lattimore has previously linked his mission to being the first white man to participate in the ritual. Simple participation is enough.

In terms of Lattimore's relationship with Arash, Mongol Journeys is somewhat confusing in that Lattimore puts the Chinggis Khan episode first, which, chronologically, should have been in the middle of the book. However, in terms of narrative flow, this choice is logical because the Chinggis excursion hangs together much better as a story than the remainder of the book. Lattimore first met Arash in 1932, three years before the outing to the Chinggis Khan site in Ordos. Lattimore began learning Mongol in Beijing and, by the spring of 1932, he had decided that he needed to hone his oral Mongol ability. Moreover, he desired to "travel and live in the Mongol style" (86), although whether this involved actually sharing a blanket with a Mongol we do not learn. Georg Söderbom, a Swede born in a border area of China, a member of Sven Hedin's Sino-Swedish Expedition and a trader in the present-day Hohhot, suggested that Lattimore travel with Arash. Arash, we later learn was a Western Mongol from an area in the Altai Mountains. When he was a child, he was sent away to be a monk. Later, he was a trader on the Siberian border, a dealer in field glasses in Urga, had been involved with the notorious Jal Lama,⁹⁹ and escaped from Mongolia to China in 1930 during the often violent attempts at collectivization launched by Mongolia's nascent socialist government.

Arash was important to Lattimore's learning about the Mongols. It is sensible to assume that when Lattimore arrived in Inner Mongolia to start his first "Mongol Journey," his Mongol was far from fluent and thus he was dependent on Arash when encountering people who only spoke that language. He was also very obviously in need of Arash's knowledge of all that was necessary to move across the countryside by camel: setting up camp, cooking, tending the camels, and dealing with a wide variety of people. "Arash" the character that appears in Mongol Journeys is constructed out of Lattimore's representation of Arash's relationship with the woman he lives with, his comments about Mongol sexuality, his understanding of Mongol religion, his "dirtiness," how he relates to Lattimore, and various anecdotes, most of which reflect positively on neither Arash nor the Mongols. In "An Imperial Audience With Jenghis Khan," which is the second chapter of Mongol Journeys, Arash is hardly

mentioned. The reader knows that Arash was there, but he does not appear in the narrative as a recognizable personality. Nevertheless, this ultimate journey, into what Lattimore envisions as the essence of Mongolness, does provide an important clue to Lattimore's relationship with Arash. During the moment when the veil hiding the most secret Mongol mystery, the audience with the Great Khan, was temporarily cast aside, Arash was absent. As in the sleeping arrangement, Arash had been pushed to one side. In fact, in this travel, Arash never appears as anything more than bits and pieces, despite the time that Lattimore evidently spent with him.

The time and energy that Lattimore devotes to differentiating between Mongol and Han Chinese camel caravans yields valuable insights, as do his discussions of the histories and social processes of Inner Asia. This leads to the conclusion that Lattimore is a great deal more interested in such historical processes than in individual Mongols. What he does not tell, but what must have been a part of his selective reporting in terms of the details of his life, however brief, in Mongol areas, is that when he returned to America or traveled in Europe, people wanted to hear the good stories, the accounts of how very different things were amongst the Mongols than they were in the West. The details of what different people have in common is likely to be less interesting to an audience than how very strange, remote and exotic locales and their inhabitants are. Accounts that please such audiences often tend to be snobbish and moralizing, and infrequently render Mongols to advantage, as the first quotation of this study by the eminent American Mongolist Nicholas Poppe, indicates.

The categories that Lattimore employs to provide details about Arash tell us a great deal more about Lattimore than they do about Arash. These divisions are also important because they harmonize with what has already been presented. Lattimore's knowledge of the region and the Mongols in particular by the time he prepared the manuscript of *Mongol Journeys* for publication did not preclude the weaving of a tapestry that presents little that was new to an American public in terms of what Mongols are as human beings. Lattimore acknowledges that, as an American, he is given to this:

We burst in on "the native," take his picture, make a written note that he is quaint but backward and dirty and an unwritten note that he must have thought that we were pretty dazzling. What interests me is the strain we put on the politeness of "the native" (265).

What is noteworthy is that Lattimore did exactly what he deplors.

Khan's provocative essay "Who Are the Mongols?" (1995b) provides a useful framework for analyzing how Han Chinese are reassured of their ethnic superiority in contacts with Mongol herders by expressing shock and trepidation at the absence of sanitary facilities, the dirtiness of herders' clothing, the lack of green vegetables in the local diet, and so on. Khan argues that trips to Mongol families by Han tourists are "empowering" visits. Lattimore, though not Han Chinese, fits this model in his depiction of Arash, and by extension, Mongols in general. Arash had pronounced the effect of dried vegetables Lattimore provided "constipating" and suggested that they not eat them again, Arash rubbed butter on a camel's sore and then used the same hand to put butter in Lattimore's tea, Arash assured Lattimore he knew how to be clean around ladies and, forthwith, used his dirty turban to wipe dishes. On the whole, Arash is depicted as a Mongol who knew his place and as a curiosity rather than as the complex human being every person is.

Furthermore, several of Lattimore's interpretations are open to challenge. With more interest in the ethnographic aspects of what he had observed and more consultation with informed Mongols, there might have been less to contest. An example of this is one of Lattimore's self-congratulatory anecdotes. In riding into an encampment of Mongols assembled for an appearance by the Panchen Lama, Lattimore reports having said to someone "I was just wandering about with a broken-down lama and four good-for-nothing camels and had come like a bastard by no road whatever" (273). Lattimore presents this as extremely witty and very well received by his Mongol audience because, in terms of the Mongol he employed to deliver it, classical and colloquial Mongol were combined. It may be suggested, however, that the remark engendered laughter simply because of its startling nature. It is unlikely that, upon hearing such a phrase, onlookers would be convinced that the

speaker had mastered the language, as Lattimore represents the reaction of his audience.

Lattimore may have also erred in his discussion of the Mongol *oboo*, which refers to mounds of stones that, generally, are in positions of high elevation and dedicated to mountain gods and Heaven. He imagines that a "staff" planted in an *oboo* that he observed was "very likely a phallic symbol in remote origin" (275), which is likely a reflection of contemporary fascination with Freud.¹⁰⁰ As Üjjiyediin Chuluu and I have shown (1995), putting a tree or tree branches into the top or center of an *oboo* may be related to tree worship, for various trees are worshiped as symbols of mother earth, heaven, *oboo*, and dead shaman spirits by Mongols. Consequently, because trees are considered a special place where spirits dwell, trees or branches are placed in *oboo* to provide local gods with a satisfactory residence. Practically, the trees and branches also provide a place for ribbons made of cloth or silk to be hung. These ribbons accommodate pictures of a little boy riding a horse, which is a symbol of propitiousness, and colored cloths painted with Buddha pictures or Tibetan lamaist formulae, which are also considered helpful in insuring good luck. Lattimore's discussion of the *oboo* follows speculation that the "grotesque resemblance" (274) between the Catholic mass and Tibetan Buddhist rituals results from very early Nestorian Christian influence. In making this suggestion, Lattimore mirrors nineteenth century commentators in conjecturing that, for example, Noah and certain of his offspring were important founders of the Chinese nation.

Lattimore's position toward the Mongols is exemplified in another of his numerous anecdotes. A Swede, a Dane, and two Mongols are traveling together. They all eat out of the same pot. While they are sitting around the pot one night waiting for what is in it to boil, one of the Mongols uses the pot ladle to pick up some dung to keep the fire going, and then, before anyone can say anything, returns the ladle to the pot without so much as a wipe. The Westerners say nothing, thinking that it had already been done. However, a short time later, it happens again. This time the Dane says diplomatically:

"Here we are," to the Mongols, "two Mongols, a Swede and a Dane. Four people, three countries. We all have different customs, but we get along fine, because we are all tolerant of each other. That's what it is to be friends! Yet customs can be very different. Sometimes our people, for instance, offend Mongols because they step on the doorsill in entering a tent just because they don't know any better. But we have our customs too. Now in my country we have a strange custom. It is regarded as unclean to feed the fire with the same ladle that you use in stirring the pot."

By this time the fire needed fuel again. The Mongol said nothing whatever, but he reached into the pot, took out the ladle, scoured it with the skirt of his gown and put it back into the pot. Then he hitched himself over, with a grunt, until he could reach the pile of dry dung with his hand. He put some on the fire, still saying nothing, and hitched himself back to his warm place. Then he said to the other Mongol: "But they eat pig meat" (219-220).

On the surface, this might appear to be an ambiguously humorous sketch with a good punch line. It contains examples of how Westerners are insensitive to two Mongol taboos: not stepping on door sills and, at least for herding Mongols, not eating the flesh of swine, which are regarded as foul because of their frequently unclean living conditions, especially as compared to the environment of herded animals on grasslands. However, dig deeper, and the unquestioned superiority of the Swede and Dane are clear. They may step in the wrong place and they may be fond of taboo meat but they do not "grunt," they do not clean ladles using their clothing, and they do not use the same ladle to dip excrement and stir a pot of food. To the extent that humor exists in this story, it derives from a sense that possibly contaminating the food with excrement is, in the Mongol mind, better than eating pork. In short, Westerners are at times gauche amongst the Mongols, but not to the degree that Mongols are.

On the whole, Lattimore displays contradictory emotions and attitudes toward the Mongols in Mongol Journeys that allow for various interpretations. To some extent he strives for terms of equality, as when he informs the reader that in his initial meeting with Arash he told him "He was to do the cooking; we were to eat alike, and all other work was to be share and share" (88). However, in examples that have been

previously indicated, it appears that at times this sense that equality is appropriate was suspended. In 1962, in an introduction to Nomads and Commissars: Mongolia Revisited, an older and perhaps wiser Lattimore recounts that when Theodore Roosevelt, Jr., who was then at Doubleday, asked him to write a book about his experiences of Mongol life,

I did, and in a mood of homesickness for old scenes and old friends I put everything into the book. The dirt and the lice were there, as well as a lot of other things, but I was not looking down my nose or feeling superior; I was trying to recall the feeling of participation in a kind of life (xviii).

Lattimore adds that he was pleased when certain Mongols he met expressed the opinion that Mongol Journeys is a "trustworthy account of what Inner Mongolia was like in the 1930's" (xviii). More than a decade later in an introduction to the 1975 edition of High Tartary Lattimore writes what, if he had been given the chance, he might have written about Mongol Journeys:

I do look back with discomfort, however, on the way in which a great deal of this book [High Tartary] was written--the knowingness (a kind of boastfulness), the repeated suggestion that the cocky young traveller had special inside knowledge. Musing about it now, I am sure that I was a young man who was in fact not too sure of himself, who had not long been married, and who was trying to impress his wife (1973: xxxv).

According to William L. Holland, who worked for more than three decades at the Institute of Pacific Relations and who knew Lattimore well, Lattimore was difficult at times because of his "genius for wisecracks--sometimes rather unkind ones--which earned him a certain number of enemies" (Hooper 1995: 265). Holland provocatively suggests that Lattimore's "delight in puncturing the pretensions and opinions of people with whom he disagreed, frequently with quite witty but usually wounding remarks" (390) later backfired because people who had been "wounded," during the McCarthy-McCarran investigations, recalled the remarks in a more political way. The implication is, if Lattimore had been a more agreeable sort, he might not have gotten into such political difficulties. Holland also points out that Lattimore was

"an amusing raconteur," a point Fujiko Isono, who worked with him from the 1960s to his death in 1989, alludes to when she writes "It must be admitted that Owen's lively imagination sometimes made a story more picturesque than it really was" (Isono 1990: x).

This raises anew the issue of attempting to deal with Lattimore and his perception of the Mongols in his travel writing. Given the license available to a travel writer in recalling events for an audience of general readers, how much of what Lattimore wrote in Mongol Journeys was what he really thought and how much came out of a tendency to wisecrack and exaggerate? By the time Mongol Journeys was published, Lattimore was an experienced writer in this genre with Central Asia as a focus, having already published High Tartary and The Desert Road to Turkestan. His comment that he was not trying to feel superior but to recollect participation in a way of life may mean that, in hindsight, he feels he had conveyed a sense of superiority. Years as a successful raconteur may have caused him to shape his memories of travels amongst the Mongols to the point where they would obtain maximum audience appreciation.

This highlights one of Lattimore's contradictions. On the one hand, in his accounts he wishes to be seen as traveling and living in the Mongol style, eating what the Mongols eat, and talking to them in their language. And yet, at key times, it seems that democratic fraternity and the ability to function as a Mongol are no longer the goals, but rather there is a need to establish a sense of being "a member of the privileged white society" (Isono 1990: viii) through accounts that show the Mongols treating him in these terms. This emphasizes the difference between functioning adequately in a language and culture, perhaps even eloquently, and identifying so completely with it that there is no longer a need to report the instances that portray one as being superior.

It would be incomplete and fallacious to represent Lattimore as a simple racist, his involvement with Arash as totally self-serving, and his desire to travel in Mongol areas as purely an excursion into an alien setting as a pioneer on a frontier pilgrimage,

country, plans far ahead, and carries out plans with great ability (Lattimore 1970: 3).

It is also likely that many Mongols did respond positively to Lattimore because of his knowledge of the Mongol language, history, and culture.

Two Eighteenth Century Travelers In Mongol Areas

As in the case of the discussion of "Mongolian idiots" and the "Dark Ages," it would be comforting to find more recent travel accounts by Americans more complimentary. Unfortunately, this is not the case. In fact, in a strange sort of way, the materials composed and published after the recent opening of Mongolia and Mongol areas in the People's Republic of China are a good deal nastier and more supercilious than Lattimore's. They represent a decided return to the mindset of medieval times. To obtain a better sense of how it was not always so, let us now turn to the American, John Ledyard, and the Englishman, John Parkinson, before returning to the more recent past.

John Ledyard (1751-1789) was surely one of the earliest American citizens to have had direct contact with the Mongols, been in the Pacific area, seen Hawaii,¹⁰¹ encountered Russians in northern Pacific Ocean areas, observed Alaska, and visited Siberia. The biographical details of Ledyard's life are engrossing, not only because of the number of travels he managed to cram into the thirty-seven years of his abbreviated existence, but also because of the prominent Americans of his time that he knew. The list includes Benjamin Franklin, Thomas Jefferson, John Paul Jones, and Thomas Paine. Jefferson, in particular, from the time he succeeded Franklin as American Ambassador to France, was an enthusiastic supporter.

Born in Groton, Connecticut, Ledyard grew weary of schooling at Dartmouth that aimed to turn him into a missionary among Native Americans. In 1773, he made a dugout canoe and drifted down the Connecticut River to the home of relatives near Hartford. After unsuccessful attempts to become a schoolmaster and to apprentice

himself to a Congregational minister, he was given employment on a ship sailing from New London to exotic ports. The remainder of Ledyard's life was a collection of might-have-beens. If things had gone a bit differently, he might have fulfilled his dreams of exploring the northwestern part of what later became the continental United States, crossing the North American continent, and establishing trading posts in the Northwest. Failing in these endeavors, Ledyard stumbled into other travels.

His last excursion was made on behalf of the London Association for Promoting the Discovery of the Interior Parts of Africa. He got as far as Cairo. Upset by a delay in travel he

threw himself into a violent rage with his conductors which deranged something in his system that he thought to cure by an emetic, but he took the dose so strong as at the first or second effort of its operations to break a blood vessel. In three days he was suffocated and died (Thomas Paine to Thomas Jefferson 1789).

Ledyard met Mongols while he was in Siberia in an attempt to reach the northwestern portions of North America. This ultimately unsuccessful effort brought him as far east as Yakutsk in September 1787, where the dangers of winter travel prevented him from venturing further. Unlike late twentieth century travelers in Mongol areas, Ledyard was not there specifically to encounter and experience Mongols and Mongol geography. While waiting for winter to break, however, he did make notes of his latest adventures as he had done before. His travels with James Cook had been published and proved a commercial success. Ledyard had a letter of introduction from Pallas (discussed earlier), which facilitated his meeting local officials and, judging from certain of his remarks, he was familiar with Pallas' writings.¹⁰² In January, he traveled to Irkutsk where he was arrested and immediately packed off to Moscow by two guards, spelling the end to yet another of his grand schemes of exploration.

Ledyard's observations are noteworthy in that they, unlike late twentieth century travelers' accounts, are not an effort to emphasize the superiority of American-European values. They reveal a disinterested non-judgmental attitude

toward Mongol peoples, primarily the Kalmyks and Buryats.¹⁰³ There is an unruffled description of face shapes and speculations about intelligence, the amount of beard "Tartars" possess, and the results of measurements to ascertain if "the ears of Calmuc and Mongul Tartars, project uniformly farther from their heads than those of Europeans" (156). Ledyard concludes that there is some difference but it is "by no means extraordinary." Generally, Ledyard seems to have found nothing peculiar about the Mongols to record. Certainly there is none of the disagreeableness that would characterize descriptions of Mongols by such fellow countrymen as Paul Theroux two centuries later. In the midst of shrugging off the comments of an acquaintance "bedvil'd with the wild system of the french naturalist Buffon" (156), Ledyard's wide-ranging interests are revealed in the observations that

Archangel Dress the true Russian Dress and is derived from Greece and Egypt. Mongul and Calmuc are Thibet Indians--Counted Sixty Streams that empty themselves into the Baikal (there are more see fo[r]ward) (157).

Perhaps this lack of a need to make moral evaluations of the Mongols and other non-Western peoples he encountered, while in Siberia, emanated from his own extensive travels and encounters with many different sorts of people. By this juncture, he had already spent much time in the Pacific, Alaska, and Europe. Simply to reach St. Petersburg he had set out from Stockholm and, apparently, walked most of the 1,200 miles in eight weeks across the frozen isolated interior portions of Sweden and Finland. Furthermore, neither the United States nor Britain, at that time, boasted luxuries for a person of Ledyard's social class that far outshone those of the Mongol peoples he encountered.

The same sort of dispassionate interest can be found in the travels of the Englishman John Parkinson, who toured Russia, Siberia, and the Crimea during the period 1792-1794 (Parkinson 1971). In several pages (154-161) Parkinson provides copious notes of an encounter with "Calmucs." As in the case of Ledyard, taking notes was a necessary duty of "touring." And, like Ledyard's, his comments are on the whole either neutral or complimentary. Parkinson was entertained by a Kalmyk prince,

who offered him food, provided details on the Kalmyk situation (through an interpreter), and introduced him to local religious rituals. Parkinson's abundant comments are detailed enough to have value today in ascertaining Mongol foodways in the late eighteenth century. One dinner, for example, featured koumiss, tea, caviar, dried fish, cow-milk cheese, sour-milk cheese, twisted white bread, butter, mutton fat thinly sliced, a minced meat soup, slices of beef fat, pigskin stuffed with rice flavored with garlic, curry, and roast mutton with lemon. Although this menu would likely not have appealed to many Americans, it was a genuinely interesting and richly textured sampling of food.

Such equanimity in description is not Lattimore's style, nor was it the style of most Western travelers at the time or, for that matter, today. Rather, most American and European travelers have appeared to consider Mongolia as it was summed up by Silas Bent in a 1925 article for the New York Times Magazine entitled "Adventures in Mysterious Mongolia":

Mysterious Mongolia, despite motor trucks in Urga and telegraph wires spanning the Gobi Desert, remains aloof from Western civilization. Japan is industrialized, China more than half "awakened": but the vast realm over which Hu-tuk-tu [Mongolia's spiritual leader at that time] reigns as spiritual, and so far as he can as temporal sovereign is almost as primitive as in the day of Kublai Khan, who conquered China and settled upon it the Buddhist religion (4).

The front page of this article features a picture of a Tibetan Buddhist deity. The caption reads "Mongolia's 'God of Death'--Many-Headed and Many-Legged." The bottom of the page has a reproduction of a rectangular page of Tibetan Buddhist scripture, emphasizing the sense of an alien religion.

Today, what is interesting about this article's first paragraph and the illustrations is that very little has changed. The elements Bent cataloged seventy years ago--mystery, a "primitive" non-Western condition despite the outer adornments of modernity, desert, familiar Mongol leaders (Qubilai Khan), and an outlandish, slightly comical religion--remained unchanged.

"You Can't Do That Anymore"

More recently, John DeFrancis, a longtime Chinese language specialist at the University of Hawaii, is the only American writing after Lattimore to produce a book-length work with Mongol travel as a major theme. His In the Footsteps of Genghis Khan (1994), which describes travel in the mid 1930s, has many links with Lattimore's Mongol Journeys. Although the two did not travel together, their separate journeys took them to some of the same locations and they met certain of the same personalities (including Arash). There is also a stance toward the Mongols that is similar to Lattimore's, although more negative. Like Lattimore, whom DeFrancis worked with at Johns Hopkins, there is a mission that is not clearly defined, other than to "experience." Finally, DeFrancis follows Lattimore's style of writing in interspersing accounts of travel itself with blocks of reflections on history and process that make up a good part of the book. Unfortunately, little of this information offers much that is new to readers.

To the extent that In the Footsteps of Genghis Khan represents the sort of Mongol chronicle publishable in the 1990s, it does not compare favorably with Lattimore's Mongol Journeys published half a century earlier. DeFrancis peppers the first chapter, aptly entitled "You Can't Do That Anymore," with a variation on just that theme, that is, what he accomplished can no longer be done. In terms of explicit statement, DeFrancis matches Lattimore in rationale for his writing:

Here is a bit of personal history, based mainly on journal notes now yellowed with age, which can be read as both a tale of high adventure in the wild west of China and as a prelude to the present in that tortured land (7).¹⁰⁴

Just how DeFrancis' perambulations relate to the present or to "that tortured land" (how was China "tortured" in 1994?) is never clarified. Moreover, most everything was for sale in 1994 in the People's Republic of China, the date that DeFrancis' manuscript was published. Anyone who wanted to go where DeFrancis went could

have done so for a price. Similarly, some areas DeFrancis represents to be "hermetically sealed off" were open to foreign travel by 1994.

In the second chapter, "Martin and the Ides of May," conversations are presented word by word. This suggests an unusual memory in recalling conversations five decades after the event, how prodigious a notetaker DeFrancis had been at the time of the conversations, or how "a tale of high adventure" is open to artistic license. Throughout the manuscript one finds an imagination as vivid as the title. Banal witticisms¹⁰⁵ are interspersed with pedantic comments on the nature of the Chinese language, including the need for Chinese language reform, topics that do not appear directly related to the Chinggis Khan theme.

Given the similarity of certain passages, Mongol Journeys may have been consulted. Lattimore writes about Torgny Öberg that he knew all

the Chinese dialects of the border so accurately that he can often place the exact valley or village a man comes from. . . . Torgny is a blond Swede, but the villager had hardly ever seen foreigners and to him Torgny's pure Sarachi [area where Torgny was raised] dialect was more convincing than his blond coloring (21).

DeFrancis writes:

Some [Chinese] who had never seen a foreigner before took him to be a native with blond hair. He had such a finely tuned ear that he could often pinpoint a speaker not just to a district but even to a specific village (63).

A second example relates to Arash's daughter, Kongkhor. DeFrancis writes:

When we saw her on that visit, Kongkhor was a vivacious little thing who showed promise of growing into a beautiful woman. We heard later that she contracted smallpox and nearly died before George was able to persuade the family to let him take her to Guihua for treatment. She might have recovered unscathed if Arash's mother had not become worried about this truck with foreign shamans. At his mother's insistence, Arash brought Kongkhor back before she was fully cured. As a result, she became badly scarred and lost the sight in one eye (40).

Lattimore writes "Poor pretty little girl, she was afterward badly marred by the smallpox and blinded in one eye" (7). And later, in the context of describing Arash and his family, he adds that when Kongkhor got smallpox, she

might have died if George Söderbom had not been there. He nursed her for a while until he could persuade Arash and Sereji [the woman Arash lived with] to let him take her down to the Catholic hospital in Kueihua. Things. . . might not have been worse if Arash's mother had not got worried about these alien goings on and declared she would die in a hurry unless the child were brought back. Arash and Sereji gave in and poor little Kongkhor, still sick, was brought back. The result was that she was not only terribly scarred but lost the sight of one eye. She had been a vividly pretty little girl (98).

The resemblance in these passages imparts unexpected meaning to the phrase "we heard later."

The reader learns that DeFrancis' expenses for the journey were paid by his principal companion, a well-educated and wealthy Canadian named H. Desmond Martin. DeFrancis and Martin appear as incompatible personalities with the former, strong-willed, practical, of sturdy peasant stock tiredly putting up with the inanity of a representative of the leisure class.

Like Lattimore, DeFrancis asserts that a predominant reason for his making the trip was so that he could

live as much like the Chinese as possible. I need to acquire a gut feeling for at least some aspects of Chinese life, and I won't get that by burying my nose in a book or staying in places that cater to foreigners (15).

The sketches and poor quality photographs¹⁰⁶ that illustrate the book are also revealing. Among other things, they show how fascinated DeFrancis and his illustrator are with camels that are depicted in various poses. This captivation by animals, associated in some way or other with the Mongols, deemed unusual to Westerners, has a long history. An often reproduced drawing of Qubilai, for example, depicts him in a howdah borne by four elephants. John Ranking, in two garrulously-named tomes (Historical Researches on the Wars and Sports of the Mongols and Romans, in Which Elephants and Wild Beasts Were Employed or Slain, and the Remarkable Local

Agreement of History With the Remains of Such Animals Found in Europe and Siberia (1826) and Historical Researches on the Conquest of Peru, Mexico, Bogota, Natchez, and Talomeco, in the Thirteenth Century, by the Mongols Accompanied With Elephants; and the Local Agreement of History and Tradition, With the Remains of Elephants and Mastodontes, Found in the New World (1827)¹⁰⁷ provides astonishing arguments for the use of elephants by the Mongols, including Mongol land expeditions, accompanied by everpresent war elephants, marching across North America and South America as the result of a wayward vessel from the fleet that set out to conquer Japan landing by accident in Peru (Reid 1994c: 78-84). One may also conjecture that if Ranking had been as infatuated with camels as was DeFrancis, the Mongols might have marched across the Americas in the company of dromedaries rather than pachyderms.

This leads to comment on a phrase that DeFrancis overworked: "The more things change. . . ." that seems to suggest that DeFrancis' experiences illustrated how China had not changed in some fundamental way and, perhaps, relate to his earlier statement that his collection could be read as "a prelude to the present" in China. In offering the usual smorgasbord of shallow impressions under a Mongol theme, DeFrancis indeed shows how some things do not change.

Not much more need be said about this effort at travel writing. Predictably, the food is described as terrible, the Mongols cruel, living conditions not like those back home, and "native" sexual activities, particularly among certain monks, unpleasant. After braving many dangers before safely returning to Beijing, like Lattimore at his destination's end, DeFrancis congratulates himself and ponders how the experience has made him a better human being.

Two examples stand out that characterize DeFrancis on his jaunt. The first involves his being alone in a *ger* when lamas came to visit. Rather than receiving milk tea, they received an "inane smile" (53). The second example occurs much later. By this time DeFrancis had become fed up with Martin and had several altercations with him. DeFrancis relates that he had decided he would devote the rest of the journey to

translating a book in Chinese¹⁰⁸ into English to "improve my ability to handle written Chinese" (187). He further notes that

One of the nicest things about a real ivory tower is that you can pull up the drawbridge and keep out intruders. Here we were wide open to visitors who probably wouldn't have been able to read a "Do not disturb" sign if we had put one up (187).¹⁰⁹

In his isolation, DeFrancis "worked away happily, completely absorbed, for hours on end" (187). This indicates how much DeFrancis had retreated from his avowed mission to associate with "real" Chinese and practice the language in real situations. Surrounded by "real" Chinese in a very "real" situation, DeFrancis had retired to his book and Chinese character cards, except, perhaps, when he was visiting "real Chinese" in their homes and partaking of their hospitality.

In a review of DeFrancis' effort for Mongolian Studies, the only journal in the United States devoted exclusively to this topic, Robert Service begins with a telling statement:

I must begin with a confession. I am perhaps not completely objective about the book under review because for me it comes very close to recreating the wonder I felt as a twelve-year-old encountering the Mongolian world for the first time (1994: 127).

Service confides that nearly forty years previous, as he was recovering from an allergic reaction to school immunizations, his mother read to him a "story of two boys traveling through Inner Mongolia in the 1920s" (126). The effect this story had on Service was profound:

Soon, I was so enthralled by the tale that I could no longer wait for my mother to continue reading and finished it up myself. I was transported from my sickroom to a world of desert and grassland, nomads, soldiers, officials, peasants, and herdsmen, bad and good "bandits," princes, priests, officials, Mongol, Chinese, Dungan, and Turki, and their varied ways of life; in short, to the world of Inner Mongolia in the twenties and thirties. And I have spent the last four decades alternately resisting and succumbing to, but never escaping from the spell this book cast over me (126).

Readers are entitled to a personalized reaction to whatever they read. Nevertheless, this beginning suggests a highly romanticized vision of Mongols and

Mongol geography. In providing most of the above ingredients, DeFrancis seems to have mesmerized Service, who deems his "freshness and sense of discovery" (127) unrivaled. Service is also quite interested in camels, designating the book's illustrations "charming." In writing that DeFrancis is not the sort of person to dwell in detail on travel hardships, Service seems to have ignored a number of instances when DeFrancis does precisely that.

As Mongolists tend to do, Service's harshest criticism is that In the Footsteps of Genghis Khan contains several typographical errors, and he concludes by suggesting that the book is a primary source on the history of Gansu and the western portions of Inner Mongolian during the mid-1930s. As a serious American Mongolist, Service identifies a successful formula for Americans traveling in Mongol areas. The traveler should move across a desert-grassland landscape; animals, preferably camels, should abound; and peculiar religious personalities, such as lamas that can be worked in with other colorful people should be featured. If this combination can be characterized as daring and heroic because the American protagonist has suffered a good deal in enduring "primitive" conditions, the travel standards of the world of Mongol Studies will have been met.

A. Doak Barnett

Traveling to Mongol areas in Inner Mongolian in 1988, A. Doak Barnett desired to retrace his own footsteps in the course of a "journey to virtually every part of China, from 1947 through 1949" (Barnett 1993: 3). He enters this discussion as another writer whose work has been praised by some in the China Study field. What is intriguing about Barnett's 1988 trip is his representation of it as an exploration into the "real" China, especially "China's hinterland" (13). Barnett was financially backed by the United State's Committee on Scholarly Communication With the People's Republic of China and the American Council of Learned Societies. This gave him the financial wherewithal to travel in, by Chinese standards, considerable luxury: first class

seats on trains, by plane, and by car. Information was gathered from top leaders in locations in each province and autonomous region that he visited and from showcase factories.

Barnett's effort to authenticate the realness of the China that he visited consists of detailing miles traveled (17,500), number of major administrative regions visited, number of places slept in (thirty-two), number of people interviewed (eight hundred), and how many pages of notes were taken (4,600) in how many notebooks (forty-four). Barnett's arduous style is also evident in the repeated use of such phrases as "I was told," "they stated," and "officials said" that ultimately prove as unconvincing as his mode of travel and the persons he had interviewed. Traveling comfortably and talking with leaders skilled in presenting the positive aspects of local conditions, especially when compared to the situation before 1949, do not convince readers that the Chinese populace, especially the more than eighty percent living in the countryside at the time of Barnett's "expedition," has been represented. Nevertheless, he writes that in his luxury class train compartments he had "dozens of conversations with train-compartment mates of almost every conceivable sort" (44). More appropriately, he had dozens of conversations with train-compartment mates who were surely representative of the less than one percent of the Chinese population who can afford luxury class train accommodations or who had the political connections for their employers to pay.

Barnett does report that people of the lower social orders were "packed sardinelike, into close quarters" (45), but reassures himself and readers that they "find these conditions more bearable than most foreigners do" (45). At times Barnett's parameters in measuring economic development demonstrate considerable humor. A photograph of a woman wearing white moderately-high-heeled shoes pulling a cart laden with a number of bags appears on the dust-jacket cover of *China's Far West*. The suggestion is that women wearing such footwear must have decent lives. Similarly, the number of television antennae is represented as a powerful indicator of economic development. Ironically, the photographs of ordinary people that adorn the

dust-jacket were taken with the subjects either in a middle-background or far-background position, which are precisely the positions they occupy in the book. Barnett appears to have spent little time in filling out his forty-four notebooks with what ordinary Chinese citizens had to say, possibly because he is someone who believes that listening to leaders over costly banquets paid for by public funds furnishes more credible information than China's ordinary population.

Another example of the strained attempt to induce the reader to believe he has entered the "real China" is presented when Barnett describes the beginning of his trip to the Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region by train. He provides, this time, an inventory of clothing that he took with him that included "a very heavy overcoat, thermal underwear, and warm boots" (43). Since he was riding in a first class compartment, it is safe to assume that such warm clothing must have remained permanently in his suitcase, toted by his Chinese assistant. Nevertheless, at least three established American researchers felt positively enough about Barnett's 688 page tome to have their remarks printed on the back dust cover. Invoking the Mongol connection, Lucien W. Pye of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology effervesced that

Master sinologist A. Doak Barnett has once again opened our eyes to unexplored and unexpected dimensions of China. . . . Barnett, like a latter-day Marco Polo, has explored the back ways of China's western interior and reports astonishing progress in little-known places with romantic names. Skillfully combining the intellectual curiosity of a research scholar, the dogged persistence in interviewing of a redoubtable journalist, and the eye for the vivid scene of a sympathetic travel writer, he has produced a new genre of writing. In this work the dean of China specialists has carried out a young man's field research project with the wisdom and perspective of an internationally respected senior China expert.

This statement tells us considerably more about how far removed the field of China Studies is from the daily concerns of ordinary Chinese citizens than it does about the perceptivity of Barnett's impressions.

Barnett's periodic reports of the remoteness of the regions he visited and DeFrancis' claim of "you can't do that anymore" echo Lattimore's assertion that he was the first white person to witness the enigmas surrounding the Chinggis rituals in Ordos. Christopher Atwood (1995) shares similar reservations about Barnett's work. Although Atwood acknowledges that Barnett's experiences in China in the pre-'49 era provide an unusual opportunity to assess the significance of change, his comments are mostly critical. He points out that Barnett "writes solidly within the modernization school of social-scientific analysis" (114), which "has historically been notoriously weak in understanding the issues of ethnicity" (115). Atwood contends that signs of modernity expressed in tall buildings and Western-style clothing do not necessarily mean all is well.

Other Westerners React To Mongol Areas And Mongols

This was the heartland of the Huns and Turks and later of the Mongols. This was, and still is, the land of the yak--the ox known as *Bos grunniens* that grunts as it walks, that thrives on the scant vegetation and thin air of high mountains and plateaus (Douglas 1962: 290)

A prominent American, whose purpose for going to Mongolia in the early 1960s was quite different from that of a number of other travelers, was William O. Douglas. As Melville Bell Grosvenor, National Geographic's editor, explains: "At a time when knowledge of Communist areas is vital to the West, his article casts a penetrating light into a hitherto obscure corner of the world" (Grosvenor 1962: 289). In Douglas' account, the Mongols seem much in need of American democracy. Nowhere is this illustrated more than in the cover photograph¹¹⁰ of the issue Douglas' article appears in. Several Mongols are seated or kneeling inside a *ger*. All gaze intently inside the structure, except for one middle-aged man who stares directly at the camera. The caption for this photograph reads "Mongolians crowd a tentlike home

to meet a distinguished American visitor." Inside the article itself (290-291), the same photograph reappears with the caption "Eyes Bright With Interest, Mongolians in a Lattice-and-felt-walled *Ger*, or Tent, Ponder Words from a Rare Western Visitor" (290). Similarly, the ending two pages feature a large photograph of Douglas at a podium, standing between two Mongols. "Justice Douglas Expounds Freedom to a Socialist Student Audience," (345) states the caption. Douglas concludes by writing that he fears for the future of the Mongolians because they

are so removed from Western culture, so distant from the influences of Judeo-Christian civilization, so unaware of the West's great books and humane letters that if they long remain in an isolated pocket between the Soviet Union and China, they may evolve into ideological puppets (345).

Douglas refers to the Mongols as "warm and stouthearted" and seems to have genuinely enjoyed his visit. At the same time, however, it is possible that the interest in Douglas ostensibly displayed in the first photograph was really just curiosity. In 1987 I attended a several-day traditional Mongol festival in a remote herding banner of northern Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region. For the first two days, I was followed by more than one hundred Mongols of all ages as I moved about the festival proceedings. In one *ger* set amid a large number of *gers* that had been moved to the site for the festival from outlying areas, I was entertained with liquor and mutton. During this time a number of Mongols surrounded the structure and peered inside. Some pulled aside the canvas and felt covering the *ger* to obtain a better view. My friends explained that they were curious because they had never before seen an American. I did not have the idea that they wanted to "meet" me or "ponder" anything that I said. They were simply curious.

Whether the interest in Douglas was one of simple curiosity or a desire to "ponder his words" is not clear, but his onlookers' interest in what he had to say may have been overestimated. This is suggested again when Douglas is asked to sing. He obligingly performs "Yale's 'Whiffenpoof' song which was loudly acclaimed, and I could have had an all-night audience for American songs if I had not begged off"

(301). Douglas may have provided an engrossing performance, but it is also possible that his audience was just being polite. It is likely singing all night in a language most of his audience did not understand would not have retained their interest.

There is a temptation to conclude that Douglas was not fully aware of Mongolia's official stance toward the United States at this time. Information about the United States was filtered through Russian sources and most relevant materials in Mongolia's libraries were in Russian (Tsolmon 1995: 73). The United States was depicted as a collection of money-hungry capitalists ever bent on world domination that had come to power by ruthlessly exploiting Native Peoples and African-Americans. This official view is reflected in a poem entitled "Fidel Castro" (Khuushaan 1989: 198-202) written by Mongolia's Luvsandambyn Khuushaan (b. 1929). Educated in the Soviet Union, Khuushaan, a native of Arkhangai Aimag, published his first book of poetry in 1959. "Fidel Castro" depicts Cuba formerly as a small country controlled by "American lords" who regard "the native people as slaves of the country." In a parallel to the orthodox socialist view of Mongol history, as the Mongol revolutionary leader Sukhbaatar had driven out the evil Chinese from Mongolia, so the dauntless Castro drove out the evil Americans, establishing "freedom."¹¹¹

In the 1990s, the stance of this poem, as an appropriate understanding of the Mongol view of America, is belied by the frantic efforts many Mongol parents of the upper-middle class and upper classes are making to find ways for their children to study in the United States. Education in Moscow had been the goal for decades, for it insured access to success and status. With the collapse of the Soviet Union, America quickly came to be viewed in the same light with English replacing Russian as the foreign language taught in most middle schools in Mongolia.¹¹² However, at the time Douglas visited Mongolia it can be imagined that the Mongols were not convinced Douglas had "words of wisdom" or knowledge of a social system they considered to be superior to their own. It is also possible that, with Lattimore's visits to Mongolia at this time and the circulation of his subsequent positive reports, political leaders in

Ulaanbaatar may have decided Douglas might help provide additional positive international recognition. If so, the generally positive tone of the National Geographic article indicates it was an aim that was achieved.¹¹³

One of the best American descriptions of Mongolia and its peoples in terms of perspective since Ledyard's was written by Fred Shapiro (1931-1993) in 1992 for The New Yorker.¹¹⁴ Entitled "Starting From Scratch," Shapiro manages to avoid most of the stereotypes that tend to limit the viewpoint of Mongolists. His treatment of Mongolia is genuinely sympathetic. With the help of modern transportation, he had managed to visit different quadrants of Mongolia and meet with Mongols ranging from shepherds to then President Ochirbat. Certain familiar subjects are dealt with, but in ways that are not disparaging. The food is not described as disgusting and there is a genuine appreciation of Mongol hospitality. There is also a conscientious attempt to gather details about the economic lives of ordinary Mongols--an interest that, unfortunately, neither Lattimore nor DeFrancis exhibit in their travel accounts. Shapiro is genuinely committed to providing information based on what Mongols think, why they live the way they do, and what recent changes in the government have meant to them not only psychologically, but also in terms of their daily lives. Such an attempt to understand the Mongols without inserting the judgmental "I" is rare in commentaries on Mongols. This suggests that, at least for some observers, the less they know about Mongolia before they begin, the more objective their writing may be.

At times, however, empathy goes overboard.¹¹⁵ Aided by writings of the British evangelist James Gilmour,¹¹⁶ who labored in Mongolia more than a century ago, Shapiro offers glowing accounts of Mongol friendliness to strangers:

travelers appearing at any time at any gher will be taken in, refreshed with food and drink, told they may stay as long as they wish, and furnished with whatever they may need for the continuation of their journey (43).

From personal experiences in both Inner Mongolia and Mongolia, I cannot escape the conclusion that Western travelers frequently obtain welcomes exceeding those offered other, less unusual visitors. Mongols, like any other group of people,

carefully evaluate the visitor, and a welcome is then extended depending on the results of that evaluation. Impoverished and unemployed Han Chinese, for example, who wander in Mongol areas of China, will be given food, tea, and a place to sleep. But they are not "welcome" because such people are thought prone to steal from their hosts and because of the animosity between Mongol and Han. Certainly, a poor homeless Han wanderer will not be waited on by senior members of a home that he is in while "a member of the family will unobtrusively slip out of the *gher* to slaughter a sheep for a feast" (45) as Shapiro suggests. Sheep, depending on their size, in the 1990s can earn several hundred *renminbi* and such a guest as just described would not be considered worthy of so great an expenditure.

When I was escorted by handlers to Mongol homes in Inner Mongolia, my escorts usually prepared by bringing with them quantities of foodstuffs and liquor that would compensate the family for the "welcome" that was expected, and for which I was expected ultimately to pay. In two cases, when I was escorted by Mongols, the families, after providing an obligatory minimal meal, expressed considerable reluctance to allow me and my Mongol friend to stay for a few days; consequently, we left. They said that it would be very troublesome, as no doubt it would have been. Provisions for sleeping in winter for visitors, for example, are often difficult to arrange when there are several family members. Temperatures inside the *ger* reach the outside temperature, which may be many degrees below freezing. In one *ger* that we visited, family members slept in bags fashioned from goat skins, which were placed on felt above the ground. Two visitors would have meant that at least two people would have had to share one goat skin bag and, given my own generous figure, this would have been a tight fit. My Mongol friends and I also had other options. Had it been winter, well below freezing, and late at night, the families in question would have undoubtedly provided a place for us to sleep because to have done anything else would have been to condemn us to death. In both cases, however, we had come by car and could easily find accommodations elsewhere.

These two experiences that I had have a good deal in common with certain of those reported by Raphael W. Pumpelly in the generously entitled Across America and Asia: Notes of a Five Years' Journey Around the World, and of Residence in Arizona, Japan, and China published in 1870. Pumpelly and Ledyard¹¹⁷ would have enjoyed each other's company. Although occasionally given to expressing the racist sentiments of his era, Pumpelly is genuinely humane and displays a good deal of humor in understating and understanding many predicaments he found himself in, especially in comparison to some American writers of the twentieth century. He was born September 8, 1837 in Oswego, New York. After graduating from the Royal School of Mines at Freiberg, Saxony in 1859, he explored loess formations and coal deposits in China before returning to the United States where he became Harvard University's first professor of mines, a position he held from 1866-1875. In 1903, he guided an expedition to portions of Central Asia. He died in 1923 in Newport, Rhode Island.

As Pumpelly was traveling to Beijing, during the period of his initial explorations in China, he and his party arrived in a downpour at a Mongol encampment:

Applying for admission at the principal tent, we were preemptorily refused by the old woman, the wife of the chief.

We learned that the men of the place were mostly away on military duty, and that the women were frightened at the arrival of our strange party. The doctor and I entered the tent with the hope of conciliating the chieftainess by means of presents, but it was useless; she stormed, and insisted upon our leaving, and went so far as to strike the doctor in the face.

This act so exasperated my Russian friend that he involuntarily drew his revolver, at which the old woman gave a howl and bounded out of the tent. Fearing that there would be trouble, we formed our party in the open space among the yurts. . . . in a few minutes the woman re-appeared, leading a motley crowd of Chinese and Mongols, armed with sickles and clubs, whom she inspired with wild gesticulations and loud cries.

There was something half ludicrous and half serious in the appearance of this novel force, as it rushed down hill toward us, headed by an enraged woman, whose robes and dishevelled hair were streaming in the wind; and the effect was heightened by the loud peals

of thunder and bright flashes of lightning which broke at once the silence and the coming darkness of night.

The enemy came on and surrounded us bravely enough, until they perceived that instead of being frightened and fleeing we quietly stood our ground and only laughed at them, and that moreover, we wore revolvers in our belts.

Being somewhat cooled in their ardor they formed a large circle around us, evidently needing stronger inspiration before beginning an attack. The old woman danced with rage, calling us and her followers all sorts of bad names, but all to no purpose. . . . the arrival of a Lama, who was the son of the woman, brought us an ally. Understanding Chinese he soon learned the position of affairs, and pacified his mother sufficiently to gain for us the right of using the tent. The volunteers were disbanded, and the only bad result of the battle was a thorough drenching all round (328).

Note that in this account Pumpelly, unlike Lattimore, displayed an understanding of why the Mongol woman was afraid and therefore initially unfriendly, and dealt with the situation with considerable restraint both in terms of not drawing his revolver and in not suggesting that the woman behaved the way she did because she was a prostitute or opium addict. Evidently, travel in such alien locales as 1860s Arizona and Japan had given Pumpelly a good grasp of how to proceed in dealing with peoples from whom he needed hospitality, especially in inclement weather.

Another excerpt from Pumpelly is worth citing because the impressions it expresses differ strongly from Lattimore's. As night closed, Pumpelly and his entourage neared a Mongol encampment. He entered a *ger* where he found a middle-aged woman and a young woman. After presenting gifts to each, he requested accommodations for the night, which his hostess agreed to. The older

woman was very good-natured and the daughter was the most graceful, and I might say the most beautiful I had seen since leaving Japan. This girl showed a modest ease and grace in exercising the duties of hospitality which astonished me, as she had certainly never before seen a foreigner (326).¹¹⁸

Lattimore, in contrast, is routinely harsh in his assessment of Mongol women.

Two essays that will now be examined are short ones penned by recent women travelers in Mongol areas. The first, written by Sally Huxley for The New York Times

in 1992, concerns an experience she had in Inner Mongolia on a trip arranged by the Chinese. I want to discuss this essay because it depicts, to some extent, what might be construed as a "typical" late twentieth-century American reaction to an arranged meeting with Mongols in China that, over the years, a fair number of Americans have experienced. Furthermore, from Huxley's description, I feel certain that the Mongol tourist camp she visited was one that I was taken to on two different occasions during my stay in Inner Mongolia.

Huxley and eight other Americans desired to travel through China visiting "untouched lands and people." In the case of Mongols in China, it would be hard to find a group of people and an area of land that have been more touched. Thus, Huxley's thought that the Mongols might provide such a spectacle suggests that she knew, like most Americans, very little about the Mongol experience of the last century. Huxley also equated "grasslands" with "the Real Mongolia." Since *most* Mongols in the world are farmers and city-dwellers, this is an equally fallacious assumption. This does, however, explain her reaction later at a Mongol farmhouse. She did not consider the inhabitants "a real Mongolian family" and expressed the desire to see nomads. After imbibing copious quantities of spirits, however, Huxley managed to react as her Chinese handlers desired her to because, in the end, she professed to having had a good time after all.

My reading of Huxley's journey is that it was organized by Chinese authorities in Hohhot around the Chinese idea of what the Mongols represent. That is, as long as there are some animals, such as horses and camels, people wearing Mongol-style gowns, large pieces of meat with the bones attached are served as food, there are *gers*, and much liquor is served, then it is a "real Mongol" experience. It is immaterial if those who act out the role of Mongol are not ethnically Mongol, don Mongol clothing only when tourists visit, rarely eat meat except when paying tourists come, electricity-lit, metal-framework, cement-floored *gers* are covered with canvas, and a situation is created in which tourists are mercilessly plied with liquor in a fashion that is not in keeping with day-to-day Mongol culture.

By defining "Mongol" in terms of such categories as food and liquor, clothing, and type of housing, Han insure that a difference is maintained between Mongol and Han. This is necessary because, in terms of just these categories, for all practical purposes, these differences have nearly vanished. Most Mongols in China live in housing and engage in production activities that cannot be distinguished from those of Han Chinese. These presumed differences are also important for the Han because in every case the Mongols are defined in ways that are inferior to the Han. Thus, a trip by Han to such tourist spots can be visualized as one of personal and ethnic empowerment. The script that those acting out the role of Mongols are expected to abide by dictates that the Mongols perform in ways that are inferior to the "more refined" Han. Han live in houses, which, in terms of man's evolution from hunter-gathers to city dwellers, are further along the ladder of evolution; Han wear modern Western-style clothing that contrasts sharply with the still-traditional Mongol robe; Han eat meat in small pieces cooked with vegetables and this is different from eating large pieces of meat with a knife and the hands; and, although Han drink, they do so in moderation. This last point is worth looking at more closely. Han may become very drunk in such situations and behave outrageously, but later it can be excused by saying that they were in a Mongol situation, had no alternative, and cannot be considered responsible for what they might have done.

Huxley was unquestionably blissfully ignorant of these deeper machinations in the complex equation of Mongol-Han relations in China, though she was discerning in having detected that the "real Mongolians looked bored, put upon," which is a fair interpretation of exactly how they probably felt. She also gives a sense of awareness that she and her group of fellow Americans were being just as manipulated as were the "real Mongolians." It was only through the euphoric gaze of liquor that the experience came to be, for her, bearable and meaningful. Huxley, like the Han who visit such tourist camps, found that in doing things she would not normally do--drink excessively, sing, and dance--she somehow had obtained a valuable cultural experience. She knew it was not "the real Mongolia," and in this sense her perception

was very different from that of Han tourists who would have been convinced that it was, but it was, nevertheless, a genuinely valuable cultural experience. However, the sense of value came from her doing what she would not have done in the United States, but this did not mean that she had experienced the "real Mongolia."

Harriet Schirmer of Wrangell, Arkansas provides a second example of an American woman writing about recent personal experiences in Mongol areas. Schirmer does not explain how she arranged to be in Mongolia. The reader is only informed that she taught English for a year at the Pedagogical University in Ulaanbaatar as part of an effort to retrain teachers of Russian to be teachers of English. She was taken to a small countryside community two hundred kilometers from Ulaanbaatar in June 1992, where she spent several days with a Mongol family she had become acquainted with while living in Ulaanbaatar. What is of interest in this essay is Schirmer's dispassionate description of what she saw and experienced. She liked the food:

Throughout the stay we were well fed with meat, eggs, potatoes, noodles, soup, and salads. The eggs, and salads were probably not often seen in the town we think, rather, special because we were there and our hosts had lived in Ulaanbaatar a long time (Schirmer 1993: 41).

She does not suggest that she was repulsed by a special dish prepared by the killing and butchering of a goat, removing its hide intact, the inserting of the deboned flesh inside the hide, adding very hot stones, and then sewing up the bag so that the flesh of the goat cooks under pressure from the heat of the stones.

She encountered camels, *gers*, and various personalities involved in a herding life, all of which experiences are characterized in nonjudgmental ways. The sense is that Schirmer had been in Mongolia long enough and was acquainted with enough Mongols that she found nothing "strange" about what she saw and experienced. Furthermore, in that her description was written for the Mongolia Society Newsletter, Schirmer may have felt she did not need to play on the usual agglomeration of

stereotypes about Mongols in order to have her article published. The Mongolia Society Newsletter generally publishes any submission relevant to the Mongols.

Mongols writing in English about their travels in Mongol areas are rare and offer a useful comparison to the writings of Westerners. One such account was written by Narsu (1991), a young entomology teacher at Inner Mongolia Agriculture and Animal Husbandry University in Hohhot. On the morning of July 17, 1989, he began a trip that eventually took him to the far western portion of Inner Mongolia and then to Beijing and various sites in between. Emotional moments for Narsu included appreciating the beauty of landscapes, the warm hospitality of the Mongol people, a sense of fear one night at a lamasery, and a sadness that "Mongol customs were changing as the result of an increasing population and radical environmental change" (54). Humorous observations include a lama cooking dishes of food with pork, thinking that city people like pork, which was not true in Narsu's case, and the fact that another lama found his interest in collecting insects comic. This self-examination and absence of judgment point out how starkly different most Westerners' reports are in their apparent need to draw conclusions, often sweeping in scope, about the nature of Mongol society and culture.

Conclusion

Chronologically, travelers' reports about Mongolia do not appear to fall into any clearly discernible patterns. Ledyard, Pumpelly, and Shapiro wrote some of the more favorable depictions in terms of their understanding of Mongol culture. Lattimore and DeFrancis provided more detailed descriptions of travels in Mongol areas, but with a sense of an abyss. This is poignantly portrayed by Lattimore's description of Arash made to sleep across the feet of his American-European companions. More recent travelers such as Theroux have been intent on providing a caricature of the Mongols—an image laden with notions of bad food, physical ugliness, and atavism that shares much with eighteenth and nineteenth century speculations

about the Mongols. In that these latter conjectures rest firmly on the bedrock of medieval speculations informed by the dead-certain reality of the monstrous nature of portions of humanity, one can only bemoan the fact that ideas promulgated by the humanities and social sciences concerning the essential equality of humanity and the need to understand people from their point of view seem so ineffective.

CHAPTER 6

A Fixation On The Past: Fiction, Films, And Mongolists

This program [In Search of Genghis Khan] looks at the legend and the traces of Genghis Khan. It covers the people and culture of his descendants, whose lives have barely changed since the Mongol horde burst out of Central Asia in the 13th century to ride as far as the gates of Vienna and permanently change the face of most of Asia and Europe (Asian Studies Video Programs 1996 1996: 2).

One aspect of the electronic, postmodern world is that there has been a reinforcement of the stereotypes by which the Orient is viewed. Television, the films, and all the media's resources have forced information into more and more standardized molds. So far as the Orient is concerned, standardization and cultural stereotyping have intensified the hold of the nineteenth-century academic and imaginative demonology of "the mysterious Orient" (Said 1978: 26).

[Terry Nessip (Malcolm-Jamal Warner)]: "Come on Pete, a little excitement's not going to kill you."

[Pete Nessip (Wesley Snipes)]: "Terry, I like the women nice, quiet, and dull--not like that Mongolian feminist that you set me up with" (Drop Zone 1995).

One midafternoon, in the early spring of 1993, a young American Peace Corps volunteer in a north central town of Mongolia expressed to her Mongol friend, as they walked down the town's main street together, a sense of disappointment that local Mongols were learning modern Western dances soon to be demonstrated in a public performance. She animatedly explained that she personally liked traditional Mongol dances, had learned some herself, and thought that it was inappropriate for Mongols to learn modern dances. Like many Westerners, this young American had a certain vision of the Mongols that the incursions of modernity, in this

case "moon-walking" and other forms of modern pop dancing, threatened. Her tone and the way she addressed her Mongol acquaintance suggested that she knew what the Mongols should do based on her authority as an American. This stance toward the Mongols accentuates a view that is fixed on the past which this chapter explores in fiction, films, and the works of Mongolists.

Fiction

This section is reluctantly headed "Fiction" because so much that has passed for "insiders" reports, that is, writings of those who actually had been *in* Mongol areas, can also be classified as fiction, to the extent it does not factually represent the Mongols. For all practical purposes, these accounts differ little from "real" accounts. An inability to move away from the by now familiar themes of Mongol warriors, physical traits assigned to Mongols, and the sense that the visitor is heroic in encountering Mongols and living to relate the adventure are uppermost.

Douglas Adams' *The Hitch Hiker's Guide to the Galaxy* begins with the devastation of earth by beings from outer space. The protagonist is informed of the destruction of his home, for reasons not related to the earth's imminent demise, by one L. Presser,

a direct male-line descendant of Genghis Khan, though intervening generations and racial mixing had so juggled his genes that he had no discernible Mongoloid characteristics, and the only vestiges left in Mr L. Presser of his mighty ancestry were a pronounced stoutness about the tum and a predilection for little fur hats (1994: 3).

Presser is troubled by recurring images that hinge on the reader's awareness of clichés surrounding Mongol soldiers of the thirteenth century and Mongols as mental defective. In this case the latter characteristic is expressed as stupidity. Presser is afflicted by an unfathomable liking for axes and a vision of the protagonist's home's being consumed with fire and Arthur [the protagonist] himself running screaming from the blazing ruin with at least three hefty spears

protruding from his back. Mr Presser was often bothered with visions like these and they made him nervous (5).

His brain is, at this same time, "filled with a thousand hairy horsemen" (5) and, a short time later, just prior to the time the earth and Presser are destroyed, "his mind seemed to be full of noise, horses, smoke, and the stench of blood" (13).

Presser, administratively in charge of the destruction of the protagonist's home for a development project, is a short-lived image in Adams' creation but, significantly, it occurs at the very beginning when the earth is destroyed. This positioning, and the comments above, serve to heighten the sense of annihilation. The responsible outer space beings, the Volgons, are not well described in terms of character or motivation. By summoning the Mongols, Adams utilizes a theme he deems general readers will be familiar enough with to accept casual and utter destruction of the planet. Adams' use of the Mongols also demonstrates that, in 1978 when the book was first published, the concept of atavism was still very much alive. Presser's Mongol genes determine his inclination for demolition, to be fat around the middle, and stupid; hardly winsome traits. Moreover, the Mongols provide a believable backdrop to unstoppable Volgon warriors streaming out of space.

An example of Mongol cruelty can be found in the adventures of Joel Converse, protagonist of Robert Ludlum's The Aquitaine Progression, published in 1984. Converse possesses an ecumenical concern for humanity that inexorably drags him into pledging himself to the eradication of a group of men bent on control of the world, whom he calls "would-be Genghis Khans" (253). This group consists of men from the United States, France, Britain, South Africa, Germany, and Israel--no women here. During a meeting, Converse arranges with certain members of the clique, the latter engage in "quiet dissertations delivered thoughtfully, reflectively, passions apparent only in the deep sincerity of their convictions" (287). In the space of this rendezvous, average-citizen Converse is struck by his antagonists' quotations from Voltaire and Goethe.

Ludlum's employment of "would-be Genghis Khans" is likely not a reference to the learnedness ostentatiously exhibited by evil men bent on world domination; it is a reference to their methodology: engineering massive uprisings, terrorist attacks, the infusion of arms into political flashpoints around the globe, and political assassinations, all carefully calculated to create such an inferno of death and mayhem that the high-profile members of the clandestine "Aquitaine" group would appear as the only people with the resolution to use the necessary force to restore calm and stability to a world gone mad. In the course of Converse's ultimately successful attempt at thwarting this team of international dastards, he was "pursued by anonymous executioners to the dark corners of Europe" and "forced to play a game of survival of blood-rules he thought he'd long left behind" (back cover). These "blood-rules" which Converse, an illustrious Vietnam veteran, operates by, constitute an acceptable rationale for him to kill a number of people with his bare hands, including an impoverished old woman on a train, and still remain a squeaky-clean hero united with the woman he is on the very edge of losing when the novel comes to a halt. "Genghis Khan," in this context, does not suggest violence only, but ferocity unleashed against established institutions and governments.

Lawrence Gardella's China Maze is laden with American popular images of the Mongols and, therefore, deserves our close attention. It differs from The Aquitaine Progression in that the Mongols are not painted as cruel, but rather as characters reminiscent of American native peoples in the late nineteenth century. They are underdogs and easily impressed by well-intentioned white people.

China Maze accommodates a lengthy treatment of the Mongols in a novel of the mass-circulation spy-adventure species. Originally published by E. P. Dutton in 1981 as Sing a Song to Jenny Next, it was republished by Worldwide Library as China Maze six years later. The book cover emphasizes the "China connection" by depicting labyrinthine Chinese-style structures, vaguely reminiscent of the Great Wall, surrounding a nuclear reactor; nevermind that the nuclear reactor the heroes set out to destroy in the narrative is part of the an extensive nuclear complex hidden in a cave.

The Mongols are physically formidable in the "Genghis Khan" sense and are intellectual inferiors to Han Chinese featured in the story. These themes are worth exploring as to how they are worked out in this example of popular literature. In 1952, Ricky, the hero's nickname, is seventeen years old, and on a desperate journey to China's eastern seaboard for pickup by an American submarine after destroying the nuclear facility. On the way he meets an alluring Han Chinese female desperado, who, significantly, hates the Communists, but is not exactly a Nationalist either, and who is a confederate of the Mongols. The Mongols are so enamored of the young American that they insist on accompanying and helping him throughout his action-packed escape attempt.

When Ricky and his band reach the pickup point, they find that the Central Intelligence Agency, seemingly the "dark hand" behind the entire business, has dispatched agents to wait for and exterminate them: The mission was designed so that none of the operatives would live to recount it. By now experienced in the art of killing, after more than two weeks of doing just that on a nearly daily basis, Ricky and his colleagues briskly dispatch the faithless Central Intelligence Agency representatives. Shortly thereafter, following tearful farewells, Ricky is collected by an American submarine and eventually returns to the United States.

The daunting physical presence of the Mongols appears early in this adventure saga. People in the story are "a cast of characters straight out of 'Terry and the Pirates'--a Mongol chief six and a half feet tall, who could hit bull's eyes on a target over two hundred yards off with a bow and arrow" (10). Indeed, against the all Caucasian-American special forces team, the Mongols measure up quite well. Ricky and three of his closest buddies

looked so much alike that we could have been brothers. J. F. White was a corporal, Jake "Slade" Craig and I were PFC's. We were all over six feet tall, weighing about two hundred pounds, and we were all blond and blue-eyed (21).

The Mongol chief is considerably taller and heavier than the three strapping teenagers, which makes his eventual acceptance and allegiance to Ricky even more significant.

The physical proportions of the Mongols and Ricky and his three buddies dwarf other "Orientals" in the novel. During the few days of training, before they plunge into China, the special force undergoes hand-to-hand combat training taught by "Orientals." The "Oriental" instructors are disadvantaged because Ricky and company are "all a lot bigger and stronger than any of them" (23). Although at first Ricky and his confederates are "pretty awkward," they quickly learn how to persevere, and soon demonstrate how American brawn combined with native intelligence can carry the day. The physical smallness of the Han Chinese is emphasized several times in the story:

The big difference [as compared to the Americans], of course, was in their looks and build. The biggest of them was no more than five feet six inches tall, and weighed no more than 125 or 130 pounds. Some were a lot smaller, and when I looked more carefully I realized that six were women--none of them much over five feet tall and weighing no more than a hundred pounds.

Painting the Han Chinese characters as "tiny people" makes Ricky's help more needed and justified. The Communists are described in negative terms and are not depicted as "tiny."

The female brigand, whom Ricky dubs "Dragon Lady," gives him the name "Khan" in recognition of his courage. This also creates conditions for Ricky to become much more than what one might normally expect of most seventeen year olds. After earning his spurs as a warrior in the attack on the underground nuclear facility, it is time to elevate his position amongst his fellow combatants. In the following exchange he emerges as a leader:

[Dragon Lady]: "You are a *good* soldier."

[Ricky]: "I told you I'm *not* a soldier." Somehow I couldn't quite explain about being a marine.

[Dragon Lady]: "You don't like being called that?"

[Ricky]: "No, I don't."

[Dragon Lady]: "Then I call you..." She hesitated, "I call you khan."

[Ricky]: "Khan? What does it mean?"

[Dragon Lady]: "Khan is Prince of Princes, someone who deserves respect. A leader."

[Ricky]: "I'm not a leader."

[Dragon Lady]: She said smiling, "I watched you. You *are*."

Dragon Lady has secretly observed Ricky's group blow up the nuclear reactor site and later his valor under fire when pinned down by communists shortly before she and her group ride to the rescue. In recognition of Ricky's bravery she confers the title "Khan," making him the equivalent of a Mongol chief. This appellation is not, however, one signifying an astute knowledge of such luminaries of the Western literary canon as Voltaire and Goethe. Ricky informs the reader at the beginning that he is no scholar: "Ask me how many books I've read in the past ten years, and I'll tell you: I've read two. Ask me how I handle an M-1 or a machine gun, I'll tell you. I'm the best" (30). Ricky's being a fighting and killing machine extracts this title from Dragon Lady. It also sets the stage for her eventual bedding of Ricky: it is right and fitting that a dragon lady as well as a leader of men should copulate with a khan. Coitus with Dragon Lady serves further to heighten Ricky's American conquest of all that is "Oriental," for Dragon lady is no stranger to violence, having, with Ricky's and the ever-loyal Mongols' help, castrated and beheaded one of her enemies, and then placed the severed head in the hands of a statue in a central government courtyard in Beijing.

The "dragon" in "Dragon Lady" symbolizes the "good non-Communist China." The all-American hero does not have intercourse with Mongols nor with Communists, only with Dragon Lady, who, in conservative late twentieth-century American nomenclature, would be a "freedom fighter."

Her face was close now, and I leaned over and kissed her.

Then I put my hand on her hair.

Then I ran my hand down her back.

Then I pressed her slim little body against mine. I could feel every inch of her, from face down to her toes, responding (276).

In this less-than-graphic erotic scene, Ricky loses his sexual virginity in China; he has some days since lost his moral naivete in the course of killing hundreds of people, albeit evil ones. By pressing that "slim little body" against his twice as large blond self, Ricky not only "fucks China," a powerful statement of dominance, but also

sows robust seeds that will become twin sons. Ricky's conquest of Dragon Lady is meaningful in explicating the layers of power presented in this story. Dragon Lady, who is overwhelmed by Ricky, controls the Mongols, who obediently follow her leadership. The Mongols, on the other hand, are dominated by everyone. Ricky is firmly atop this three-tier structure.

The technical and physical climax of the story is also the enduring legacy of Ricky's life. The pair of half-Americans he sires are destined to bring a lasting benefit to China. Though Ricky is no longer within China, his sons will carry on their father's American traditions and beliefs and also his looks: "They are big and blond" (301). Clearly, American "big and blond" genes easily overpower their "Oriental" counterparts, as Ricky overwhelms all "Orientals" encountered.

Ricky's first encounter with the Mongols is sandwiched between the book's two most important events: the destruction of the Chinese nuclear facility and his clandestine rendezvous with the American submarine. Events leading to the encounter suggest that the Mongols are coarse people. For example, Ricky requests a cigarette and, after lighting up, coughs and gasps before managing "to ask, 'What the hell was that--rope?'" One of his comrades-in-arms laughingly replies, "the Mongols love it!" (127). This episode puts Ricky on the moral high ground in that he refuses to smoke the opium that the Chinese are using while finding the Mongol variety of tobacco too "rough" for his rarefied American lungs. Later, when Ricky asks a messenger what the Mongols have said in reply to the news that Ricky's party will soon arrive, one member "hunched his shoulders and let out a growl" (134). This and similar examples further stress the reality of Mongol barbarism.

The initial meeting with the Mongols parallels a typical encounter between Native Americans and Europeans right out of a movie about the American West in pre-politically correct times.¹¹⁹ Ricky and his party are mounted, and as they ride into Mongol territory, they are met by fifty charging horsemen who are "all huge strapping men" armed with swords. The leader is "huge, powerful, and hairy,"¹²⁰ has a voice that sounds "like a bear growling," "rotten breath," and "greasy hands." Despite this

forbidding portrait, it is clear that Dragon Lady is in the driver's seat. Though the Mongol chief is "twice her weight," she stands her ground and is treated as a superior.

After establishing Mongol subservience to Han Chinese, the writer illustrates American puissance, not through appeal to an amorphous cultural superiority but through raw physical power. The chief's lieutenant makes a quick move toward Ricky, who, fighting machine that he is, instinctively lashes out with his fist and leaves the lieutenant lying "flat on his back, looking like a fallen tree." This further sets the stage for a duel, overseen by Dragon Lady and the Mongol chief, between the two in a symbolic contest between the best the American military can offer and the remembered power and strength of the Mongol hordes. Ricky, being a child of the modern military, shuns the use of swords and bows and arrows and opts, instead, for wrestling. It also allows for a bloodless victory on his part, further insuring Mongol cooperation and respect. It proves complete American superiority over the Mongols, for Ricky has no prior training in wrestling, a favorite Mongol sport. The bout is short-lived because Ricky gains the advantage early on and is, consequently, knocked unconscious by two Mongol bystanders to keep him from winning outright.

This furnishes yet another opening for Ricky to display his deep sense of all-American fair play and decency. The Mongols, being similarly honor-bound "good Injuns," demand that Ricky, once he regains consciousness, be given a sword and allowed to deal with the three Mongol perpetrators as he sees fit. The scene becomes sacrificial with Ricky in the role of King Solomon: the Mongol trio drop to their knees before him, silently awaiting sentence. Dragon Lady passes the sword of justice to Ricky and commands him to mete out punishment. This is Ricky's moment alone in which his own inner judgment and character shine through. He receives no signal from any of the gathered throng, including Dragon Lady and his comrades of what he should do. After a moment of quiet contemplation he turns to the chief and says "They live." Ricky next walked

over to the three kneeling men, bent over each one and helped him to his feet. I touched each one on the shoulder in turn and then walked up to the chief. When my face was a foot from his, I said, "Friends,

friends!" I touched my chest, pointed to our group and to the three men, and repeated, "Friends, friends!" (153)

After the multilingual Dragon Lady translates, the Mongol chief growlingly shouts "Khan!" while pointing at Ricky. In being designated "Khan" by the Mongols, Ricky rises to a position of eminence, but a culturally sensitive one, for he defeats them fairly according to their own rules and later, when he is cheated, he shows compassion. This also provides a convincing backdrop for the remainder of the story in which the Mongols occupy a very minor role, comparable to that of servants. This comes as no revelation, given their genuflections before Ricky at the time he spares their lives.

The author occasionally gives the reader history and culture lessons, the elementary nature of which suggests how little American readers are imagined to understand the Mongols. One of the more farcical instructions is given by a campfire as the Mongols circle dance. Dragon Lady explains that this is a dance the Mongols share with the Cossacks and that it has gone on for thousands of years. Ricky, the inquisitive American pioneer ever bent on a priceless discovery to recount once he gets back home, is amazed. The author further informs the reader:

[Dragon Lady]: "Many things have stayed the same for longer than that. The Mongols are much the same, as fierce as they were when Genghis Khan was their leader."

[Ricky]: "*Genghis Khan?*"

[Dragon Lady]: "He was the great khan who organized the Mongol tribes and trained them to be fine horse soldiers."

Despite its brevity, this is the longest and most revealing of several references to Chinggis Khan of whom Ricky and, by extension, the average American Joe, is assumed to be totally ignorant. Lost in the above description is any sense that Chinggis Khan created his empire several hundred years before the twentieth century, not thousands of years ago. In this passage, Ricky appears as the quintessential American only too conscious of his own perceived short history; and therefore, customs dating back thousands of years have special appeal by positioning "Genghis Khan" within this firmament of ancient ways.

The landscape of food, clothing, and drink compounds the sense of Ricky's stumbling into the midst of a "lost tribe." In terms of landscape, the Mongol camp is deep within the womb of China and accessible only after crossing completely barren mountains "without a tree or shrub." It is in this setting that Mongols-in-the-flesh are first encountered. Although it would have been as appropriate to have met Mongols in a lush grassy plain, the sense of a landscape barren of any plant life prepares the reader for a culture and people barren of *savoir-faire*. The Mongols next guide Ricky and company through

rough country, over a series of ridges that gave way to gentler slopes and then narrowed into canyons. We did finally come across a trail of sorts, which took us over a slope. On the other side, nestled among the mountains, was the Mongol camp (144).

Ricky has now penetrated the inner sanctum of Mongolia and is available for whatever secrets that beg to be revealed in the same way that Owen Lattimore reached the heart of Mongol mysteries by being "the first white man" to have an "imperial audience" with the corpse of the Great Khan. The dearth of cultural refinement is further highlighted by Mongol foodways: antelope meat is eaten in chunks roasted on a spit,¹²¹ sorghum-derived liquor is stored in skin bags, and the dining utensils are animal skins. Furthermore, the Mongols dress in animal skin clothing, keep wolves for pets, and engage in archery competitions three hundred yards from their targets. Ricky, ever able to adapt to startling circumstances, has little trouble negotiating such difficulties, making him even more gallant and "democratic," rather like an English lord dining with an unwashed scullery staff in a poor tenant's hovel.¹²²

Employing several similar themes, Dan Tyler Moore's 1956 short story for the *Saturday Evening Post*, "The Terrible Game," also displays important differences. Like Ricky, the protagonist, Jonathan, is a young unattached "fighting-machine" parachuted "five hundred miles inside Asiatic Russia" (47). He finds quick acceptance among the "Buran Mongols," convinces them of America's good intentions, and enlists their help in anti-Soviet activity. Also, as in the case of Gardella's novel, the landscape of geography, culture, and language is a hopeless muddle. The "Buran

Mongols" speak "Urdu, of all languages the ancient tongue of the steppes," and are known as the "Sons of the Typhoon," although just how typhoons might be known to people living in an area seemingly many hundreds of kilometers from any ocean is not clarified. And, as in the case of Ricky, the "big, powerful, and rangy" Jonathan is quickly accepted by the ruling Mongol khan.

Differences appear, however, in that, unlike Ricky, Jonathan falls in love with the khan's daughter, Bebesh. This is made more acceptable after the reader learns that the khan's grandfather successfully survived what any visitor must: "The Terrible Game of Ott." This involves traversing a difficult obstacle course that includes such items as wrestling a much larger Mongol and jumping off a cliff, all the while pursued by many of the local male populace, who are allowed to shoot at and otherwise attempt to kill the visitor. Predictably, Jonathan completes the course alive, is accepted as the khan's heir-apparent, gets his girl, and is congratulated by his American supervisors over a "tiny transmitter." He assures them that if they parachute in a powerful "atomic howitzer" he will "destroy the Trans-Siberian Railway any time we have to" but does not want any additional Americans sent in. Jonathan thinks

of the hundreds of years the freedom-loving little country had bravely held off the rapacious other world; he knew what would happen if anyone once established a foothold, even his own United States. It would be like Commodore Perry opening up Japan and setting the stage for Okinawa (189).

Although containing considerably fewer Mongol-related materials than the above, references in James Clavell's weighty 1,343-paged *Whirlwind* are important in their representation of determinant concepts about Mongols invoked in American popular literature. *Whirlwind* is set in Iran in February 1979, where a band of Western pilots working for a British-based company are caught up in the tumult of revolution. The story climaxes with the company's attempt secretly to spirit its million-dollar helicopters out of Iran to neighboring countries.

Clavell's Westerners are practically without blemish. They are all strict heterosexualists: none of the "civilized" Western heroes are seduced by the delectable

young Persian boys that several of Clavell's Persian men savor. They are also all Christian, with the exception of the Finn, who is depicted as beholden only to a pantheon of native deities. The one Westerner who has converted to Islam and opted to stay in Iran to be with the woman he loves, is, predictably, killed by an insane mob.

Clavell's juxtaposition of Persian culture with that of the Mongols articulates the message that the Persians, despite their shortcomings, are inheritors of an ancient culture. The Mongols, in contrast, are endowed with nothing but violence and cruelty. They provide a series of exclamation points, stressing brutality, huge unstoppable numbers (hordes) exuding a sense of something ancient and unspeakably cruel and pagan. These references include a psychopathic Iranian "who thinks he's Genghis Khan" (523); rough and arrogant Turkomans from the north who "were descended from the Mongols" who frighten others, for they possess the "evil eye that all those who came from the north, the descendants of the hordes who knew not the One God, were known to possess" (711); an Uzbek whose "ancestors rode with Timour Tamburlane, the Mongol, he who enjoyed erecting mountains of skulls" (557); and finally a scheming Turkoman who, in the midst of devising his stratagems pauses to think about the

steppes now, the vast plains of his homelands and ancestors, the seas of grass from whence his forebears came forth to ride near the cloak of Genghis Khan, and then that of the grandson Kubla Khan and *his* brother Hulagu Khan who came down into Persia to erect mountains of skulls of those who opposed him (1198).

This excerpt has a great deal in common in its philosophy with Douglas Adams' atavistic presentation of L. Prosser, the "direct male-line descendant of Genghis Khan." Not only are individuals physically reminiscent of ancient Mongols according to this view, but moral character is also in the genes and, though perhaps diluted, impossible to be rid of.

It would be some consolation to find a more rounded view of the Mongols in other popular literature, but such representations are rare. James Michener's Poland is a case in point. This tome contains an entire chapter, "From the East," on the

Mongol army in Poland. Although Michener grants that the Mongol army generals were skilled and courageous, this is the only positive mention Mongols receive. Michener's most damning critique is that the nomadic culture of the Mongols had absolutely nothing of value that the Poles could have benefitted from, a point of view in consonance with remarks made much earlier in this study. Furthermore, the Mongols were too unsophisticated to gain anything from encountering the vastly superior European culture: "They brought nothing and they took nothing" Michener concludes.

Similar to Clavell's Mongol references, "From the East" is a collection of vignettes portraying Mongol cruelty and violence. If Michener has a larger implication--something beyond the mere sensationalism conveyed by example after example of human ruthlessness--it may be that Poland suffered greatly, for what, Michener is asking, could be more horrible than red-haired sedentary Christians, the precursors of modernity, to have their superior civilization laid low and the race itself polluted by ragged little equestrians whose "skins were dark, their mustaches long and their eyes cocked curiously" (Michener 1983: 34)? Michener evokes a subliminal fear: a violent forced return to a primitive uncivilized past where conflicts are not solved through informed exchange, but by sword-wielding dark-skinned cocked-eye men. Worse still, impervious to the effect of environment, genes violently implanted in the wombs of Western women produce long-lasting moral and personality characteristics as well.

Clavell and Michener both write for general readers, as attested by selections from approving reviews appearing in major world newspapers reprinted on jacket covers and inside pages. Although it is not possible to know what Clavell and Michener *really* think about the Mongols, it may be that they wrote these books for an audience lacking other, more flattering, impressions of the Mongolian people.

Films

The content of films focusing on Mongol localities tends to repeat the themes of fiction and travel accounts. John Wayne playing Chinggis Khan in the feature film The Conqueror has already been mentioned. A second effort in 1965 to bring the life of Chinggis Khan to the screen was given an equally dismal reception. A. H. Weiler wrote, for example, that

John Wayne came a cropper, in furious, uncalled-for comic style, when he rode out about 10 years ago as Genghis in "The Conqueror." Mr. Sharif [who played the starring role in Genghis Khan] and his horde have no better luck this time either.

Destination Gobi received a somewhat better reception from the critics.¹²³ A Twentieth-Century Fox production, it told the improbable story of the First Mongolian Cavalry, United States Navy in Inner Mongolia. Its main attraction was the exotic location and Mongol characters cast much like Native Americans.

The Black Rose (1950), based on Thomas Costain's novel of the same name (1946), deals with a young Englishman traveling to Cathay in the thirteenth century. He encounters a Mongol chieftain and numerous other Mongols. Costain's description in the novel of the first meeting between the young Englishman and the Mongols serves as an example of how the Mongols would fare in the film. They eat on horseback and race across a sandy expanse, they utilize human skins "flayed, presumably, from the hides of Western soldiers" as saddle blankets, are slant-eyed, one rider has a drinking cup fashioned from a human skull that had, the author conjectures, "once perched on a Christian pair of shoulders," "whinny" in delight, and engage in a barbaric game. This exercise involves lassoing a "small black slave" and throwing him from rider to rider as they gallop about. Once the boy expires, his corpse is cut with a sword and subsequently trampled into the ground so that all that remains are "an empty bundle of rags" (Costain 1946: 143-144). Despite starring Tyrone Power as the comely young Englishman and Orson Welles as the Mongol

chieftain, The Black Rose was dubbed by the New York Film Review as dull and lacking "pulsing drama" (1950).

More recently, in the film The Shadow the American protagonist, Lamont Cranston, is weaned of his evil ways while living in Tibet in 1929 by a wise Tibetan holy man dwelling in a temple of Mongol architectural style. Just what such a style would be or how it came to be in Tibet we are not told. This does reflect, however, as did Clavell's interpretation of the CIA agent as "part Mongol or Nepalese or Tibetan," a confused idea as to where Mongols lived historically. When Cranston returns to New York City in 1936, his conversion to the cause of fighting evil is so complete that he dedicates his life to crime-busting with his newly-learned ability to make himself invisible. A worthy foe in the form of an arch villain by the name of Shiwan Khan, "the last descendant of Genghis Khan" mysteriously arrives at the Museum of Natural History and enters "Genghis Khan's holy crypt to fully absorb his power." Shiwan Khan desires "To paint my master stroke. Genghis Khan conquered half the world in his lifetime. I intend to finish the job" (Koepp 1993: 47), and the joust between the redeemed American and the wicked Mongol is joined. In addition to painting the Mongols in the usual colors of the Middle Ages and Chinggis Khan, Shiwan Khan and his clanking, cross-bow toting Mongol soldiers are depicted as unusually cruel, which does not, predictably, keep the evil Shiwan Khan from being ultimately defeated by Cranston.

Two documentaries filmed in the 1990s are of note as they project the stance of Americans encountering the Mongols in predictable, but quite different ways. Bob Jones, a television news announcer in Hawaii, journeyed to China to investigate how the "descendants of Genghis Khan" live today. Jones makes a number of, at times humorous, mistakes. He insists on, for example, calling milk that he encounters "horse milk" when it is doubtful that the Mongols he meets have milked horses in years. Furthermore, the restaurants that serve such delicacies as bull penis, which Jones gamely identifies and masticates on camera, are featured as Mongol establishments. He seems to have assumed that as Mongols like meat and the restaurants serve meat,

then they must be run by Mongols. Actually, few restaurants in Inner Mongolia are owned and operated by Mongols. When the camera takes the viewer down the streets of Hohhot, the capital of Inner Mongolia, it is similarly assumed that the faces must be Mongol faces. The viewer is not informed when Chinese citizens encountered during Jones' trek are speaking Mongol or Chinese. In time, Jones reaches an area where there are horses and people dressed in colorful traditional clothing kill and cook a sheep for him. His destination seems to have been reached. Nowhere are viewers informed that the people Jones spends most of his time with represent a very small portion of all Mongols living in China.

It is difficult to fault Jones' behavior in the film. As a model of sensitivity to ethnic correctness, he quaffs foreign liquor in prodigious quantities and eats unfamiliar food with seeming gusto. When he does encounter Mongols he appears genuinely to want to "get to know them," despite the restraints imposed by his Beijing handlers. More valuable, however, is an examination of the power of existing assumptions to shape the depiction of a particular people. In holding to a view that posits the Mongols as nomads on horseback, Jones lost an opportunity to better educate the audience of his film about the life of Mongols in China.

A second documentary spotlighting Americans in Inner Mongolia portrays the Oregon rancher Dennis Sheely, his wife, and their three young children, who lived in Inner Mongolia for six months annually for a three-year period. Although not explicitly stated in *The Cowboy in Mongolia* (1989), it seems likely an organization associated with the United Nations funded a grassland-improvement project in Inner Mongolia and stipulated that a grassland specialist should be resident for the time period just mentioned. Sheely, a Vietnam Purple Heart veteran, obtained this job, partly because he had some knowledge of Chinese as the result of an undergraduate degree in Asian Studies and a Ph.D. in range management.

Sheely's official assignment was to propose a plan that would minimize destruction to the grassland in the area where he was assigned. Although Sheely cannot be blamed for trying, in the film he seems unaware of the obstacles that he

faces. A likely scenario is that one or more Chinese officials responsible for obtaining money from the agency sponsoring Sheely realized that, without allowing him to be stationed in Inner Mongolia, the funds would not be forthcoming. Furthermore, given that Sheely's suggestions about how to avert further serious deterioration of the severely stressed grassland were not entertained, it is doubtful that this project was ever visualized on the part of local officials as capable of offering possible solutions to the problem of grassland degradation. The leader in charge of the area where Sheely worked, for example, vetoed the suggestion to decrease animal numbers as a way of allowing the grassland to recover its former vitality. This has some logic in that the leader responsible for the area was probably evaluated on the basis of "production." For him to report that animal numbers had actually decreased would be an admission of incompetence.

Sheely is depicted as seemingly unaware of all of this, however, arguing that he should persuade herdsmen to follow his suggestions through visiting their homes, eating and drinking with them, and engaging in wrestling matches with adult males. Just how much control individual herdsmen have in altering their mode of production the viewer is never informed. Perhaps at some point it *was* realized by the film makers that this was not going to be a success story in the sense that bringing expert American knowledge to an "underdeveloped" area solves problems. Consequently, the emphasis is on how Sheely and his family interact with the herdsmen.

I want to particularly focus on Sheely's willingness to wrestle with Mongol men a good deal bigger, more experienced in wrestling, and younger than he. Sheely readily acknowledges his desire not to wrestle. He is shown to do so because he believes it will help in rangeland preservation. Wrestling with the herdsmen will presumably cause them to consider him an "ordinary" person and be more prone to heed his counsel. It is quickly apparent that, as a wrestler, Sheely is very much at a disadvantage. This must have been obvious to the Mongols as well, which leads to the conclusion that they relished wrestling with him because they could say later that they had trounced an American. Lacking the power to control the details of their livestock

management, Sheely likely appeared to the Mongols as an unusual, vaguely amusing guest. Mongols who have had little contact with Westerners enjoy, for example, being photographed with them because Westerners suggest the exotic. In certain instances, if political dangers seem scant, inviting foreigners to their homes provides Chinese citizens an opportunity to obtain photographs of the episode, which might later be used to boost the host families' status in the local community. Although every invitation is not extended with this in mind, this phenomenon does occur.

About the closest Sheely comes in the film to acknowledging the ineffectiveness of his presence is in saying that he has "started some thinking" and "planted a seed." Experienced Mongol herdsmen who have herded for decades are surely aware of the same problems Sheely identified--livestock too numerous to be safely supported by the amount of forage available and the likelihood of grassland destruction if present practices continue. In fact, from the outset Sheely was incapable of doing much constructive because the power to change this situation belonged to a level of government where Sheely and the non-Chinese organization that paid his salary had limited leverage. Furthermore, there is little in China's history that suggests concerns about the longterm well-being of the environment have prevented attempts to maximize short term economic returns.

This is not what the advertising copy suggests, however. The film

Presents the story of an American sheep rancher and expert in range management who spent six months in a Chinese commune advising and guiding the local shepherders. Provides a glimpse of an experiment in agriculture that turned into an international relations success story.

How international relations were improved the film does not clarify. Predictably, the film begins with images of horses, Mongols ride about with livestock catch-poles, and the viewer is treated to the familiar litany of how *these* Mongols are descended from Chinggis Khan. Sheely confides his desire after his experience of being in Vietnam to return to Asia to build and construct rather than destroy. Just as Douglas had desired

to bring the healing medicine of democracy to Mongolia, so Sheely aspires to use his superior knowledge of livestock raising.

Sheely's wife tells the viewers that she worries about her children's health and Sheely congratulates her on coming to such a difficult location. Although this appears heroic, just how much being there represents a genuine financial sacrifice is not specified. It should be pointed out that, historically, consultants for United Nations' affiliated organizations have been well paid. Lastly, as in the film narrated by Jones, the viewer is not informed that the depicted way of life is representative of only a small portion of Inner Mongolia's total population. One scene in the film accents this tinge of artificiality. It involves a visit to a local school where most children wear Mongol robes. The robes are ill-fitting and very clean. It is obvious that they are donned because something is special--in this case the visit of an American film crew. Such robes may actually be the property of the school and are only worn on special occasions when "important" visitors come to signal that the school is, in fact, "Mongol." Furthermore, Sheely mentions nothing about a central dilemma regarding education that faces many Mongol parents. They may insist on a Mongol-language education for their children and have the satisfaction of knowing their children will understand their language and culture well, but there are few opportunities for people educated primarily in Mongol because Chinese language skills suffer. On the other hand, if their children are educated in the Chinese language, parents often feel they lose the ability to function well in a Mongol setting. None of this is commented on or, perhaps, even realized by Sheely in the segment dealing with education. Like other sketches of Westerners in Mongol areas, simply being there as an Other is enough. The extreme differences, these accounts seem to be saying in a silent language of shared assumptions about what comprises an event original enough to make it worth attention, are sufficient grounds for their inclusion.

Mongolian Studies

Drawn together, the disjointed articles of *Mongolia Today*¹²⁴ point up an unwelcome truth: the West has no cadre of experienced "Mongolia watchers" who can reliably interpret contemporary events on the basis of an intimate knowledge of Mongolia, both official and unofficial (Atwood 1993: 96).

If a definition was attempted for "Mongolist" it might be a person steeped in a knowledge of the grammar of Mongol and related languages and able to read but not necessarily to speak these languages, talk about Chinggis Khan and his historical period, with frequent allusions to word forms in thirteenth century Mongol compared with modern Mongol, and to recount with a good deal of animation the more entertaining aspects of Mongol military tactics that resulted in the enormous Mongol empire.¹²⁵ This fixation on the past and an extremely limited scope of inquiry has insured that, until recently, more was known about the military deeds of thirteenth and fourteenth centuries' Mongols than about the people in the twentieth century.

Denys J. Voaden notes this in a review of Timothy Severin's *In Search of Genghis Khan*--a recounting of events surrounding Severin's several-day horseride in Mongolia. Voaden, senior vice-president of the Mongolia Society in 1993, asks

What about [Mongol] life in the cities and towns? For several years past, individual students have spent time with the Mongols, reporting on dialects, music, or rural food production. But exactly how does one go about coping with everyday life in Kharkhorin, Hovd, or Öndörkhaan?

I think it is time for a young healthy student to spend a year in some towns of Mongolia. He or she should be conversant with the language but might very usefully report on the workaday procedures of wages and employment, travel and rations, schooling, health and

taxes and the search for the use of ordinary accommodation. . . (1993: 105).

Ironically, this was written at a time when United States Peace Corps' volunteers had been working in Mongolia for two years. A number of them were posted outside Ulaanbaatar. Nevertheless, it is rather unusual for such an admirable sentiment to be expressed by someone of the Mongolia Society because the everyday existence of late twentieth-century Mongols has been generally neglected. Lattimore noted this nearly twenty years earlier than Voaden by highlighting "some of the major areas of ignorance about Mongolia in our American community" ("From Owen Lattimore, President of the Mongolia Society" 1974: 117). He argues that "Mongolian history is not limited to Chinges Khan," and "there is a great deal more in Mongolian geography than just the Gobi" (117). In calling for a more integrated modern approach to Mongol Studies that would recognize the heterogeneity among Mongols,¹²⁶ Mongolia's industrialization, and educational system, Lattimore writes

that in the West, Mongolian Studies have traditionally emphasized the past—the old written language, the history of Chinges Khan and his immediate successors, and so on. Many of the most famous Mongolists have never dealt with the subject of modern Mongolia at all. Today, in my opinion, we ought to go at things quite differently (120).

That Mongol Studies at the time did emphasize language¹²⁷ is evident from a list ("The Mongolian Language at American Universities" 1965) of six American universities (University of Washington-Seattle, Harvard, Indiana University-Bloomington, Yale, University of California-Berkeley, University of California-Los Angeles) and their offerings in this field.

It is also apparent in Nicholas Poppe's autobiography. Poppe was born in China in 1897. Before coming to the United States in 1949 to take a position at the University of Washington, he lived in several countries, learned a number of languages, and had conducted field research in various Mongol areas. Poppe, who eventually became an American citizen, describes his college professors, his family history, and his scholarship in a style that reflects an interest in comparisons and

etymology present in his publications on the Mongol language. In the chapter "My Publications," language appears as the center of Mongolian studies. Except for brief references to folklore, which are seen as valuable because they provide linguistic materials, little else is mentioned or imagined as pertinent to the field.¹²⁸

In 1995, Indiana University's Mongolia Society published the only academic journal,¹²⁹ Mongolian Studies,¹³⁰ in North America devoted exclusively to Mongols, and a more general interest publication known as Mongolia Survey.¹³¹ Reflecting Lattimore's views, the editor of the inaugural issue of Mongolian Studies (1974) gave notice that scholarly contributions were welcomed that dealt with Mongol-related topics in any field or time, including the twentieth century. This suggests that readers, given the accepted focus of Mongolian Studies on the past, might feel contributions on contemporary issues would not be appreciated.

Mongolian Studies published an index of articles and reviews that had appeared in its pages over the years in its 1993 issue. An examination of the ninety-eight entries for articles in issues One through Fifteen (1974-1992, inclusive) reveals few writings on the life of living Mongols and Mongol-related peoples. This was not what John Gombojab Hangin (1921-1989), a Mongol-American and founder of the Mongolia Society, had once hoped for. Awareness of a lack of information about Mongols in the United States led him to state, in an inaugural "Greetings to the Members of the Society" in 1962, that "Less than a decade ago Mongolia was still a land of mystery to most Westerners. The history, language, and culture of the area was known to only a handful of specialists" (1).

To illustrate this, let us examine the first article appearing after the index mentioned above, an article by Harvard professor Francis W. Cleaves entitled "The Fifth Chapter of the Early Mongolian Version of the *Hsiao-ching*." The reader is not informed as to what this text is, its importance, or its origin. A short section of twenty-one lines is followed by sixty-one notes that explicate the article. A shorter note (the reason it is selected), number seven, reads:

In *abčū* here and in 8[r] 6 below we have a *converbum imperfecti* in *-čū* of *ab-* "to take," frequently used as a comitative. Cf. also *abun* and *abub* and *abuyad* in Francis Woodman Cleaves, "A Mongolian Rescript of the Fifth Year of *Degudū Erdem-tū* (1640)," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, Volume 46, Number 1, June 1986, pp. 181-200 (p. 195, n.21) (Cleaves 1994: 29).

It is hard to imagine how this passage, the article it accompanies, and comparable writings that have filled the pages of Mongolian Studies since its inception could interest more than a "handful of specialists"¹³² and, to the extent that it does not, the Mongolia Society does not appear to have fulfilled Hangin's hope.

The interests of the Mongolia Society, as represented in their publications, have taken peculiar turns, as has Western interest in the Mongols historically. By 1995, for example, Robert Reid had published several articles in the Mongolia Society Newsletter focusing on the bizarre. These contain nothing which reflects positively on the Mongols and include "'To Catch a Tartar': Modern Mongolian Military Anecdotes" (1993), "Mongolian Marvels: Amazons, Strong Men, Giants, and Dwarfs" (1994b), "Mediaeval Mongolian Military Echoes in the Napoleonic Wars" (1994a), and "The Quick and the Dead: The Deliberate Destruction of Royal Tombs and Remains by the Mediaeval Mongols" (1995). The articles feature sensational and questionable arguments. In describing Napoleon's retreat from Russia, for instance, Reid writes that "probably Kalmyks" in the Russian army attacked unwary soldiers and stragglers because the latter were "captured by lasso." Apparently, "lasso = nomads = Mongol." Reid also mentions that Napoleon's troops were convinced that they would be butchered, boiled, and eaten because of "old tales of cannibalism among the Huns and Mongols" (1994a: 44). This suggests the same sort of relationships that we have seen previously: medieval renditions of the Mongols echoed both in popular and more scholarly presentations underscore the difficulty of discarding stereotypes.

The Peace and Friendship Organizations of the Mongolian People's Republic invited John Krueger to Mongolia in 1968. Krueger obtained this invitation as an officer of the Mongolia Society. During the ensuing days of what was his first visit to Mongolia, he was escorted to places of interest, and toward its conclusion he, like

Lattimore, met Tsendenbal. Subsequently, Krueger informs the reader that he is the first Westerner in recent years to have this honor. Krueger appears to have been treated as though he were someone important obtaining, for example, seating in the main reviewing stand on Sukhe Bator Square for a large public performance. The result is a conclusion similar to those of Lattimore and Douglas. Krueger reported to the Mongolia Society that there was much improvement in contemporary Mongolia as compared to life in "Old Mongolia." Obtaining positive statements from visiting Westerners by treating them well appears to be something that Mongolian officials have long been skilled at. Krueger's conclusion that life had improved was doubtless true, but the more searching question of how much better it might be does not arise. One of Krueger's compelling concerns stimulated by his visit involves his

regret that I have no specialized knowledge of racial types, physiognomy, cranial measurements and the like, hence I must speak absolutely subjectively. I was absolutely amazed at the wide variety of racial types in Mongolia. By this I mean that in skin color individuals range from the extremely light (I mean just as pale and white as I am) to the extremely dark (almost the darkness of Negro [*sic*]), and that facially, there is a range from a round-faced Chinese type to American Indian types, all within the 'Oriental' type and with Oriental eyes. I have never understood really what was meant by the phrase 'high cheek bones,' but now I do. It would be better called 'protruding cheek bones,' e.g., like mumps under the eyes (Krueger 1968: 60).

To the extent this interest in "types" reflects a belief that such concepts are valid--although the "typing" of Mongols appears particularly difficult--it intimates that the whole muddled issue of "race" and "Mongol" was still considered important enough to comment on to members of the Mongolia Society in 1968.

As a point of comparison, an examination of the contents of the defunct Anglo-Mongolian Journal, edited by one of Owen Lattimore's protégés, Caroline Humphrey, reveals broader interests beyond the narrow field of linguistic excavations, typified by the Cleaves' example above, in its articles by people in Mongol areas writing about other than language. Leeds University, where Lattimore taught and where he established a Mongol Studies unit, was successful in placing more Britains

in Mongolia for longer periods of time than was any institution in the United States. Perhaps this fact and Lattimore's experiences in Mongol areas explains this.

The Mongolia Society, as an expression of a lack of American interest in broad Mongol topics, is better understood when it is compared to the Japanese experience. In 1965 Paul Hyer reported on a newly organized Mongolia association in Japan. He points out that not only were the two countries geographically close but "that they sense a kindred spirit in each other or share certain national characteristics they do not share with other Asians." In contrast, whatever Americans may think about Mongols, a "kindred spirit" of the same sort is not a topic of comparison. Much interest in Mongol areas and Mongols, in the Paul Theroux sense, has been to find creatures of the extreme. Furthermore, the relationship between Japan and Mongolia is marked by events that have never entered into US-Mongol association. These include the Mongol invasion of Japan in the thirteenth century, contacts during the Russo-Japanese War, and the establishment of Manchukuo and Japanese expansion into Inner Mongolia. By the end of the Second World War, thousands of Japanese had lived in Mongol areas and hundreds of Mongols had studied in Japan (35). In contrast few Americans had spent much time in Mongolia and, in 1995, no more than a handful of Mongols from Mongolia and China had been educated in the United States.

Japan's quite different experiences and perceptions were reflected in Hyer's listing of activities sponsored by the Japan-Mongol Association. On March 22, 1963 Dr. Yukio Kasuga, for example, lectured on "Construction Activities and the Position of 16,000 Japanese in the People's Republic of Mongolia, 1945-1947." On October 17, 1963 the Japan Mongol Association presented thirty-two pearl tie pins and five pearl brooches to the Mongolian Olympic delegation (38-40). Indiana University's Mongolia Society, in contrast, has never reported on Americans involved on anything quite so immediate.

It has been suggested that legitimacy for a department, office, section, or center of Mongol Studies rests on the perceived importance of the Mongols. That relevance is centered on a time seven centuries ago and the Mongol empire; not on

today. In a sense, many Western Mongolists and travelers have been engaged in collecting. The objects of value have been agreed upon, as is the language used to describe them. This involves what can be called the selectivity of personal attitude and subject. There is nothing to suggest that this fastidiousness encourages or even allows the Mongolia Society or Mongolists to become advocates of a more sensitive understanding of the Mongols. However, the number of Peace Corps volunteers in Mongolia and the present openness of Mongolia and Mongol areas in China hold some hope that the next generation of Americans engaged in depicting the Mongols in one form or another might do so with more compassion and empathy.

CHAPTER 7

Conclusion

to most Americans Mongolia is almost as remote as Mars (Hyer 1965: 35)

The present study has sought to illuminate the meaning of "Mongol" as construed by Americans and Europeans. To that end, relationships between "Mongol" and monsters, ideas about race, mental dysfunction, the human body, travelers in Mongol areas, and Mongolists and other writers have been scrutinized. More specifically, I have attempted to clarify certain ways in which these associations and understandings shed light on the larger question of how Americans arrive at particular images of discreet groups of people.

Another sort of selectivity, than that mentioned earlier in the discussion of Mongol Studies, relates to American interest in stressing "human rights" in the late twentieth century. It can be argued that pointing out and criticizing perceived wrongs in others that lie within one's own self, whether that "self" is defined as a personal or a collective national self, serves a useful psychological function. Guilt for one's own transgressions generates considerable energy for accusing other cultures and histories for similar evils while, simultaneously, maintaining a superior undertone both morally and culturally. American culture, according to pre-multiculturalist interpretations, for example, never actually *threatened* the American Indian, because the American Indian was culturally substandard. The Mongols, in contrast, did *threaten* Western civilization because Western civilization was indisputably superior to "barbarism." Comparable arguments along analogous lines are familiar in other parts of the world,

such as China, in the late twentieth century. This and other factors have deprived Mongols of being depicted in a gentler, more romantic light that, for example, has enveloped Tibetans.

The Mongols thus served, and continue to serve, as a convenient scapegoat. Anyone remotely familiar with the world in the twelfth to the fourteenth centuries realizes that it was not a time of ubiquitous toleration. The violence of the Mongols was thus not remarkable because of its inherent intensity, but because of its scale and the likelihood that the Mongols would have controlled Western Europe had they been so minded. Thus, the Mongols, as a distinct group of people, are fixed in time and place and allow for an escape into a magical realm of clanking warriors and an unchanging past where both personal and national self-doubt are obliterated.

ENDNOTES

Chapter 1: Introduction

1. Attributed to "college kids" heading for campus about whom "you can bet not all of their creativity will be squandered on schoolwork."

2. Ideas used in this study about collecting have been influenced by Werner Muensterberger's (1994) analysis of this topic.

3. I am indebted to Diane Johnson's (1995) insightful review of fashions in clothing.

4. See for example, Richard Breitman's "Hitler and Genghis Khan" (1990), which suggests that Chinggis* Khan was a major source of inspiration for Hitler's mass killings: ". . . Hitler was consciously following what he had learned about Genghis Khan's methods" (337).

*"Chinggis" is today considered a more appropriate spelling than "Genghis" and will be used when not quoting sources.

5. Kueihua, Huhehaote, Hushi, Kōkeqota, Kūkeqota, Kuku-khota, Gughe-khota. More than ninety percent of the population of the capital of Inner Mongolia, Hohhot, is Han Chinese. Furthermore, the Mongol language in Hohhot and in Mongol-areas of China is rapidly waning. These facts are not much written about.

6. Two examples of such impressions may be found in Stuart (1988) and Stuart, Bulag, and Gampl (1989).

7. The Monguor, the designation used most often in international publications, were classified as the "Tu" nationality by China's government in the 1950s.

8. There are numerous spellings for Mongolia's capital. The spelling employed by Mongols in Mongolia is utilized here.

9. (1215-1294). Kublai, Kubla.

10. (1336-1405). Temür-e-Leng, Tamburlane, Tamburlaine, Timur, Timur Lenk.

11. An excellent example of this is a short story by Catherine Petroski entitled "Life as the Wife of Khan & Khan" (1981). Published in *Ms* magazine, the female protagonist is married to a man whose moods swings between "Genghis" and "Kubla." While behaving as "Genghis" the husband is cruel. When his mood is in the "Kubla" mode, he is gentle and romantic.

12. Reported in personal correspondence by a Mongol who had, by 1995, lived in Canada for several years.

13. 1921-1987. An American who has been credited with making photography a collectible art. Ellen Phelan is an American artist. She was a student at the Detroit Institute of Arts at the time Wagstaff was an administrator at the same institution.

14. Officially: *Nei Mongol*, a most confusing appellation. *Nei* is Chinese for "inner," whereas *Mongol* is a Mongol word that differs substantially from *Menggu*, which is as close as the Chinese language can approximate "Mongol."

15. This has not always been peaceful, as Jankowiak's article (1988) on Mongol political protest in Inner Mongolia demonstrates.

16. It is beyond the scope of this study to posit whether or not these groups of people *should* be classified as "Mongols," that is, lumped with the Mongols in China as a single nationality. Neither the Monguor nor the Dagur that I have discussed this with welcomed such a proposal. Such a grouping does pose problems for the Chinese state, however, including providing education in the Mongol language, and the redrawing of political boundaries. It can also be argued that by not gathering these groups together, the groups not classified as Mongols generally have access to only Han Chinese language education, speeding the process of assimilation.

17. My definition echoes that of The Academy of Sciences, Mongolian People's Republic (1990: 58).

18. The fifth Dalai Lama was actually the first, for it was only after his position had been defined that his four predecessors were posthumously raised to the same dignity (Lattimore 1961: 231).

19. See Hyer (1994) for a discussion of Mongolian independence and, specifically, Hyer's comments (343-344) on Mao Zedong's remarks to Edgar Snow, Gunther Stein, and Joseph Stalin to the effect that Mongolia would eventually be reunited with China.

20. A term equal, in 1997, to approximately 50,000 US dollars at the rate of exchange of eight *renminbi* per US dollar.

21. Robert Marshall writes precisely the same thing in a caption under a photograph of a contemporary Mongol family dressed in robes and upturned-toed boots. The caption reads: "Although the communist regime introduced village settlements the majority of Mongolians still prefer to live a nomadic life, sleeping in gers and tending their herds" (1993: 250). Marshall's population statistics are wrong because in 1993 most Mongols did not live in *gers* and although it may be more consistent with Marshall's arguments that Mongols were meant to live in *gers*, it is doubtful if most would have made this choice if they had other options.

22. Wurlig Borchigud (1994) argues that educating Mongol children in Mongol schools does not create "putative homogeneity out of heterogeneity"; rather it creates a visible ethnic boundary within Chinese society.

23. He was also from, originally, an agricultural area. Certain farming Mongols look with disdain at herding Mongols, accepting the Han notion that a sedentary life is one step up the ladder of social evolution.

24. Relatedly, Jagchid and Hyer argue that nomadism is a comparatively late development, rather than an ancient, primitive form of society. They also point out the difficulties of a nomadic way of life and conclude by suggesting that it is "more complex than agricultural life" (1979: 4-5).

25. "Editor's Note" (1990: 19).

26. An extreme example of this may be found in Chrissy Cada's review of this exhibition titled "Mongolian Art a Rare Find" (1996). Cada inexplicably states that the exhibition is from the country of Mongolia with a population of 200 million. Although Americans have a shocking ignorance of geography, whether it be China, Kansas, or Kenya, they are not alone. I have found it difficult to, for example, explain to even some college educated Chinese that "foreign" may not always mean "America" and "foreign language" does not always equal "English."

27. This may have been Eugene Lee Stewart, given that Adam Warwick is credited as the photographer. Stewart is credited as the photographer for a number of the other pictures illustrating the article.

28. Many Mongols object to the use of the word "yurt." In deference to this emotion the Mongol word *ger* is used.

29. In Chinese, these two areas are known as Chifeng Municipality and Zhelimu League, respectively. Chifeng was formerly the capital city of Juu Uda League. Later, this league was abolished and became a municipality (*shi*) administering precisely the same territory as the former league, including the town of Chifeng itself, as well as many counties and banners. Tongliao is the capital city of Jirem/Zhelimu League.

30. Certain of these comments are taken from Stuart (1996).

31. Fortunately for American children Marlene Targ Brill's Mongolia (1992) provides a balanced view of Mongolia's economy with a commentary on its agriculture, including a picture that would have surely confounded Carolyn Han: six agricultural workers wearing nontraditional Mongol clothing sitting in a rubber-wheeled cart being pulled by a small red tractor.

32. Some ideas used here are borrowed from Said (1979).

33. When I showed some pictures from Friedman's collection of the "monstrous races" to friends in China in 1995 and asked them to identify them, they looked at the pictures for some time and then offered that they might be examples of

"early man" or else representations of people they were not familiar with. They did not suggest such representations were fantastic or could not exist.

I am also reminded of an account given to me by a young Tibetan female. When she was visiting a Tibetan home in the countryside, an old lady of the home recounted a visit by a foreigner. "He was a very nice man," she said, "but he looked just like a dog." Along the same lines, one of my Tibetan students requested that I give him a picture of myself. I did so. Later, when he returned from the winter holiday, he said that he had shown my picture to his mother. "She was very afraid," he reported, adding, "she couldn't believe that a person could look like that." He spared me any further comments that she might have offered.

34. Humans with animal appearances continue to fascinate Western audiences, as evidenced by the long-time popularity of Gary Larson's cartoon work, among others. For other cartoons with the same theme see, for example, the January 23, 1995 issue of the New Yorker: (1) A cow-headed man stretched out on a couch says to a psychiatrist, "Every now and then, I get an overpowering urge to wear a cowbell" (Shanaan 36). (2) Two dog-human creatures lie in bed. The female says to the male, "Since we're being honest, I should tell you I have fleas" (Kaplan 60). (3) A dog-headed male says to an *Homo sapiens* female, "Yes, Doreen, I think I am capable of unconditional love" (Cullum 75).

35. Poppe reports Mongols also postulated the existence of dog-headed people. In 1926, when he reached Erdeni Dzuu Monastery, founded by Abatai Khan in 1586 in the present Mongolia, the head lama asked Poppe if he "had passed through the country of the dog-headed people" (1983: 87). Furthermore, Birrel's (1993) study of Chinese mythology contains a chapter on "strange lands and peoples." The latter include people with a cavity through their chests living in "Pierced-Chest Country" and people with one arm and three eyes dwelling in "Odd-Arm Country."

Chapter 2: Race

36. "Most" is a necessary qualification given the number of people still searching for yetis and sasquatches.

37. A Mongol I have chosen not to identify.

38. Some ideas used here are from Tucker's (1994) rebuttal to The Bell Curve.

39. Comments concerning John of Plano Carpini are taken from Dawson's introduction to The Mongol Mission (1955).

40. Precisely the same attitude can be found in Middleton's Last Disco in Outer Mongolia, published in 1992, which features remarks that are particularly abusive to individual Mongols and the state of Mongolia in general.

41. Pumpelly is not alone in seeing such lines of demarcation between Mongolian territory and the more 'civilized' China. The American, Schuyler Cammann, in travels in Chinese and Mongol areas before 1949, professes the same sentiments when standing on the Chinese side of Ningxia Province, about to cross the Yellow River into Ordos. The Chinese side gives an impression of "lush greenness" whereas the Mongol side is "bare sand and rock." He also comprehends "strong contrasts between. . .their [Chinese and Mongol] differing ways of life" (Cammann 1951: 4). Near Kalgan, Roy Chapman Andrews also mentions standing "upon the edge of the greatest plateau in all the world and that it could only be Mongolia" (Andrews 1921: 5).

42. Camper's Dissertation physique sur les differences recles, que presentent les traits du visage chez les hommes de differens pays, et de differens ages. Utrecht. 1791, which I was not able to locate, is the source most often mentioned.

43. In the post-Civil War era Camper was evoked in speeches made before Congress in opposition to the Fifteenth Amendment's adoption (Gossett 1963: 70).

44. Timothy Severin (1991: 230-231) made the same argument, writing that "Genghis Khan as the warmongering destroyer of civilization was misleading" because "this was nothing when compared to the really ghastly legacy" of the Mongols' inflicting the Black Death on Europe.

45. Certain remarks regarding Prichard are taken from Gossett (1965: 54-56).

46. Such literature brings to mind twentieth century controversies over intelligence quotients, what they mean, and what they should mean.

47. J. B. De Fischer. De Modo Quo Ossa Se Vicinis Accommodant Partibus.

1743, p. 24, Table 1, is the source cited by Blumenbach, which I was not able to locate.

48. An antelope-like creature.

49. Jeff Wise (1995) provides a somewhat different analysis of Irena. He identifies her as a "Buryat Mongol," although the contents page of the Far Eastern Economic Review that featured Wise's article reads "A Russian 'eskimo' makes good on New York's catwalks." Perhaps the use of "eskimo" is intended to contrast more strongly with the idea of "high fashion" than using a variant of "Mongol." Wise argues that a fashion model is generally "the pouting, voluptuous sexpot and the geometrically stylized icon" (50). He places Irena in the latter category and describes her features as taking "on a kind of abstract, alien magnificence that transcend mere human beauty" (50).

50. In 1848 Jean Pierre Alibert located a graphite source approximately 450 kilometers west of Irkutsk at the top of Mount Batougol in a branch of the Saian Mountains. For his discovery, Alibert was given the Cross of the Legion of Honor by the French Emperor (Petroski 1990: 150-151).

51. 1840-1919.

52. There were similar reactions in Britain during the late nineteenth century when popular literature encouraged a view of the "Mongolian racial type" as a threat to the "white race." In 1905 the Aliens Act imitated similar legislation in the United States.

53. 1887-1939.

Chapter 3: Mongols As Mental Defectives

54. In this section on "People With Trisomy 21 and the United States" much is owed to Rynders and Pueschel's discussion of "Society and the Person With Down Syndrome" (1982: 6-7).

55. 1884-1960.

56. 1271-1368.

57. Alice Munro, writing in 1991, invoked the same theme with the comment "God rewarded lust with dead babies, idiots, harelips and withered limbs and clubfeet" (321).

58. Bérubé is incorrect in asserting that Langdon Down used the term "mongolism." His various uses of "Mongol" did not include a word with a small case "m."

59. See also Crowell (1948), "Mongolian Idiocy and Cretinism" (1948), Nabors (1949), and "The Mongoloid Child" (1949) on the use of thyroid.

60. In the anthropological community, however, Crookshank met with a poor reception. In 1925, for example, an anonymous reviewer in the American Journal of Physical Anthropology dismissed The Mongol In Our Midst as a "misguided little book," but added that, given the "catchiness" of the subject Crookshank would enjoy a good deal of notoriety, which proved an apt prediction ("The Mongol in Our Midst"). The Journal of the American Medical Association termed it a "flight of fancy" and "ingenious" ("Mongolism" 1928: 1118).

61. A reference to Joseph Fletcher who, at one time, was Professor of Chinese and Central Asian History at Harvard University.

62. John L. Fox, 34; Jane W. Kessler, 34; John J. Mantos, 34; Elizabeth B. Gezon, 34; Leslie M. Sinclair, 34-25; Janet F. Peterson, 35; Judith Collins, 35-36; Constance Riley, 36; Lucile F. Sturtevant, 36; and Luther W. Stringham, 36.

63. The song "Mongoloid" is included in the recordings DEVO (1978, 1987, 1992).

64. Emphases are mine.

65. See, for example, Pearce and Rankine's "Notes on Twenty-eight Cases of Mongolian Imbeciles" (1910):

Imitation is the most strongly marked capability; and this power and love of imitation makes many small children most useful in house work. . . though at school they can be taught nothing.

Almost every one of them is very fond of music, and will beat time correctly all through an hour's performance of the band, and will often imitate the conductor accurately, and be perfectly happy playing imaginary violins, drums, and trombones.

66. "But, by reason of their very extreme hypotonicity and loose limbedness, they [Mongolian imbeciles] can achieve, like the orang, marvelous feats of contortion" (Crookshank 1924: 53).

67. The Ringling Brothers and Barnum & Bailey Circus had approximately forty Mongol performers at this time (Salisbury 1992a).

68. Disch (1992: 823), for example, comments that

one of the most fascinating acts at the Big Apple Circus is performed by Has-Ochyrin Tungalag, formerly of the People's Republic of Mongolia and an alumna of the State Circus School of Ulan-Bator, where, according to the program notes, "she specialized in contortion, the most respected of all circus arts in Mongolia." Billed as Tunga, Ms. Has-Ochyrin exerts a fascination that borders on the voyeuristic, and the part of the imagination her contortions excite is one that is not generally catered to at "family" entertainments. But turn your thinking a little sideways and her appeal is as innocent and elemental as that of the Big Apple's trapeze artists, for like them she embodies a limit case of what is humanly possible and the world would be less rich if it were not for her and other alumnae of the State Circus School of Ulan-Bator (Disch 1992: 823).

69. The "Great White City" may refer to the "Crystal Palace" designed by Sir Joseph Paxton (1803-1865) and built from 1850-1851 at Hyde Park in London. Constructed of a prefabricated cast-iron framework sheathed in glass, and enclosing a vast open space, it was dismantled after an initial exhibition and moved to the

London suburb of Sydenham where it was utilized until its destruction by fire in 1936. (John Krueger is thanked for this information.) The term itself may have been a takeoff on what the World Fair of 1893 in Chicago was called.

70. As a purely personal digression, Smith and Bery present a representation "of the first pictorial illustration of a person with Down's syndrome" (2). When I first cast eyes on this illustration, I assumed it was a likeness of John Down, and was, subsequently, when I read the caption, disconcerted to see that it was, in fact, a "mongoloid idiot."

71. Smith and Bery are incorrect in stating that "most authorities [agreed] that the patients so named ["Mongoloids"] showed no resemblance to Mongolian peoples" (4). In fact, the definition of "Mongoloid" as mental defective meant that one so diagnosed resembled a "racial Mongoloid." Henderson and Gillespie (1927: 385), for example, defined "Mongolism" as "The mongolian, kalmuc, or tartar variety of mental defect is so designated because of the resemblances of the physical characteristics of the patients to those of members of the Mongolian race."

72. The term also generated new, similar terms. For example, in 1968 Robert H. Durham gave as a synonym for "congenital acromicria syndrome" ("variable mental retardation, and a mongoloid facial appearance") the expression "mongolism-like syndrome" (117).

Chapter 4: The Mongol Body

73. There were few criticisms of Crookshank for his imaginative manipulation of *scientific* information. Instead, he was criticized for suggesting a polyphyletic origin of man and, much later, for arguing it was impossible for "non-Caucasians" to be "Mongoloid."

74. Brenneman (1907: 29) gave Baelz (1885) as the reference for the term's 1885 appearance. Kikuchi (1982: 131), citing Morooka (1931), states that Baelz coined the term in 1901. The Journal of the American Medical Association in "Mongolian Birth-Marks--the 'Blue Spot'" (1912) cited Bealz (1911) as first mentioning the term.

75. Brennemann wrote without other references that "In 1849 Eschricht published his accurate observations on Eskimo children. In 1895 Grimm treated the subject from a morphological standpoint so exhaustively that little has been added to it. . . ." (1907: 14)

76. This was in reference to an argument that a "Mongolian spotted" German baby in a Munich clinic was from the region of Olmuetz in Maehren (Moravia), which the "Mongolian hordes" had penetrated in the thirteenth century. Consequently, so the argument went, because the baby was not "pure white," it did not prove that Caucasians could be Mongolian spotted.

77. Koreans are also much interested in linking their ancestry to the Mongols. See, for example, Saha and Tay (1992), who argue that on the basis of similarity between certain blood genetic markers, as well as linguistic evidence, Koreans are descended from Central Asian Mongols. In this article a clear division is made between Mongols and Chinese.

78. A Mongol friend informed me in 1995 that the "Mongolian spot" is known in Mongol as "Mongol *tolbo*." He explained that even Mongol intellectuals deliberately avoid questioning the scientific validity of the spot as a symbol of being Mongol, despite the knowledge that the "Mongol *tolbo*" is shared by other peoples.

79. Arthur Miller's wife.

80. I was told this by the political scientist while attending Oklahoma State University in the mid-1970s.

81. What group of people, for example, finds physical beauty unimportant?

82. A drooping of the upper eyelid.

83. The accepted myth in Mongolia is that, in China, "One Mongol man must marry one Chinese woman and one Chinese woman must marry one Mongol man," hence the idea that Mongols in China are "mixed."

Chapter 5: Travelers In The Deep Dark Heart Of Asia

84. A singular example of this overlapping occurs in Henan Mongol Autonomous County located near the Yellow River in Huangnan Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture in the eastern portion of Qinghai Province. Mongols living in Henan County number approximately 25,000. Nearly all Henan Mongols who are less than fifty years of age cannot speak Mongol; rather they speak Tibetan as a first language and they also wear Tibetan-style clothing. Nevertheless, many Henan Mongols retain a strong sense of being Mongol and many continue to live in *gers*.

85. China holds that today it is a country that practices "socialism with Chinese characteristics."

86. Fong and Spickard are incorrect in commenting that Mongols are "the majority group in Inner Mongolia" (32). This may be based on the assumption that since Inner Mongolia is an autonomous ethnic region its population must, therefore, be predominantly Mongol.

87. Chinese: Geermu.

88. Guangdong's capital is Guangzhou, which is also known as Canton.

89. Importantly, Han immigration to non-Han areas, apart from informal, independent influx, was characterized by large government sponsored relocation programs in the 1950s and 1960s. Furthermore, large numbers of convicts and ex-criminals have been sent to these regions for punishment and rehabilitation. In the case of Qinghai, this follows a centuries-old practice.

90. Andrews did pack a revolver. See, for example two photos in Plate XCI in Andrews *et al.* (1932) that depict Andrews with a belt of bullets and an attached revolver near his right hip. Conversely, there were times when he preferred to be depicted as a serious scholar. An example of this is a portrait study by S. J. Woolf under the caption "Roy Chapman Andrews, Sc.D" just before the title page of Andrews' 1922 work On The Trail of Ancient Man: A Narrative of the Field Work of the Central Asiatic Expeditions. This portrait of Andrews features him in a high-collared white shirt with a hint of a bow tie. Andrews is unsmiling and a pair of glasses

without earpieces rest on his nose, a long string dangling from the corner of the right lens.

91. Lunch.

92. See Robert P. Newman's lengthy account of Owen Lattimore and the Loss of China for a detailed account of this episode in Lattimore's life.

93. This is a rather rancorous remark for someone who was a founding member of the Mongolia Society, on its first board of directors, and who allowed a chapter on Mongolia of A New Russia? (Salisbury 1962) to be excerpted in The Mongolia Society Newsletter. Conversely, Robert Thompson describes Lattimore in 1941 as "academe's foremost expert on Asia" (1991: 331).

94. However, during his next visit in 1981 "The Chinese spared no effort to make Lattimore's visit enjoyable" (Newman 1992: 579).

95. Ironically, the copy of Mongol Journeys that I used, which was borrowed from the University of Hawaii-Manoa Library, had "Communist" written in ink just under the author's name.

96. The final resting place of the Great Khan's remains continues to be a source of dispute. Many Mongols living in Mongolia believe that after having died in China, Chinggis Khan's body was taken to Mongolia and buried, although such a site has yet to be definitely identified.

97. Lattimore wrote "But the barbarians who each great empire wished to exclude from its orbis terrarum could demand a price for staying in outer darkness" (1961: xviii). Perhaps this had some influence on Sinor's choice, cited earlier, of the term "outer darkness."

98. Khan and I were together at this festival at this time.

99. Bormanshinov (1994) gives a lengthy account of this person, who was also known as Dambijantsan. Jal Lama played a decisive role in the capture of Kobdo, a location in western Mongolia, from the Chinese in 1912. He was killed ten years later by order of the Mongolian government, in part because

His bands of armed mounted brigands ambushed caravans of Tibetan traders across the Gobi desert slaughtering most of the caravan men, driving off the caravan animals, and carting off the camel loads of silks, furs, and other valuables (161).

100. Lattimore is, incidentally, quite interested in penises, possibly in an effort to spice-up his writings, as his long remembered discussion with Arash on the relative vigor of Mongol, Tibetan, Russian, and Han Chinese penises demonstrates. This interest is shown again in the recounting of a little ditty suggesting that two particular groups of Mongols lacked manhood in the same way that the flesh of the penis lacks a claim to being called real flesh.

101. He was with Captain Cook on February 14, 1779, when Cook was killed by Hawaiians.

102. "I went with the Consillier d'etat, who introduced me to Monsieur Jacobi the Viceroy; he is an old venerable man; and tho I believe like Pallas he is 'an homme de Bois,' yet he received me standing and uncovered" (154).

103. Ledyard renders this "Burett" and "Buretti," and also has the distinction of being the first American to encounter this important group of Mongols.

104. It should be noted that this is also an echo of Lattimore's "partly a glimpse of that which is coming to pass" (ix).

105. E.g., "Martin's coat of arms might well have been a stiff upper lip rampant on a field of whiskey and sodas" (8).

106. The photographs lack clarity and the photographer's shadow occasionally appears.

107. Such unruly titles as this, and other examples provided earlier, appear to bear out Anthony Lane's (1995: 96) remark that "As a rule, the longer the title, the more firmly it should be understood as shorthand for 'Look Out, Here Comes a Complete Stinker.'"

108. This refers to a book written by Ma Ho-t'ien that DeFrancis translated and eventually published as Chinese Agent in Mongolia in 1949.

109. The meaning of this passage is not entirely clear. DeFrancis may have been suggesting that most citizens of China were, at that time, illiterate and would have been unable to read Chinese characters if a "Do not disturb" sign had been written in that language. Equally as probable, if the "real Chinese" had been Mongols, who had also desired to "keep out intruders" and had put up a "Do not disturb" sign, DeFrancis would not have been able to read it.

110. The photographer for Douglas' article, Dean Conger, also provided photographs for Thomas B. Allen's 1985 National Geographic article entitled "Time Catches Up With Mongolia."

111. My comments are based on Tsedev (1989: 198-202, 352). Paradoxically, if a word was changed here and there, Khuushaan would be describing Mongolia's relationship with China.

112. Furthermore, many official signs were, in 1994, written only in the traditional Mongol script and English (Culturgram '95: Mongolia 1994: 3).

113. In 1963, soon after Douglas' article was published in National Geographic, the Mongolia Society named Douglas honorary president.

114. Shapiro was offered an editing job at Xinhua, the New China News Agency in 1987 in Beijing. His coverage of the Tiananmen Square protests for overseas news services earned him an award from the Overseas Press Club ("Fred C. Shapiro" 1993: 14).

115. Certain of Shapiro's interpretations of the details of Mongol life are incorrect. He writes that a well-made *ger* can last for more than a century, for example. In fact, a *ger's* wooden frame may last that long, but not the felt that is put over the frame, which, depending on the climate may have to be replaced as often as every three years. He also writes that "guests should sit on their left legs with their right knees up. Hosts take the opposite position" (44). Such a posture is puzzling.

116. See, for example, Gilmour's Among the Mongols (1883).

117. William Woodville Rockhill (1853-1914) shared a similar perspective on alien cultures, although his sense of irony and humor was markedly less than

Pumpelly's. His trips into mostly Tibetan areas in the late nineteenth century are described in The Land of the Lamas (1891) and Journey Through Mongolia and Tibet (1894). Tibet was Rockhill's primary interest, therefore, these two works are only briefly mentioned.

118. There is, however, no mention about a member of the family unobtrusively slipping out of the *ger* to slaughter a sheep for a feast.

Chapter 6: A Fixation On The Past: Fiction, Films, And Mongolists

119. Comparisons between Mongols and Native Americans have been offered by more sober Americans than Gardella. For example, R. Morrow, in recounting a visit to Mongolia, refers to Native Americans as "my people" by virtue of being "an American doctor adopted into the Lakota Sioux tribe" and implausibly interprets a meeting between a Mongol-American and Chinese Customs officers as being comparable to a Native American ceremonial occasion (Morrow 1990).

120. An unusual depiction, considering that Mongols are usually described as having scant body hair.

121. Mongols rarely roast meat, especially in areas where fuel is scant, as the area described probably was. Often, the only available fuel is dung. Roasting meat would require considerably more time and fuel than cutting meat into pieces and boiling it, the preferred method of cooking animal flesh.

122. For a much briefer and more positive account of an American soldier in Mongol realms see John W. Thomason's (1893-1944) short story "The Sergeant and the Bandits" in which the hero, Sergeant John Houston, rescues his girlfriend from Han Chinese bandits. In an introduction, Robert Leckie notes that Thomason had a great deal to do with the American public's initial infatuation with the Marine Corps.

123. See, for example, Weiler (1953: 7).

124. A reference to Akiner (1991).

125. An American anthropologist offered the following comment in a personal communication in 1996 after having read what I had to say:

Central Asian Brain Disease. This relates to the fact that, in order to be considered a specialist in this field, one has to know English, French, German, Russian, Chinese, Mongolian, Turkic, Arabic, Persian, and Japanese, with Urdu, Korean, and Italian highly desirable, not to speak of one's own speciality language. By the time those guys got through learning all this, all their neurons were taken up with vowel harmony and verb conjugations, so they could write nothing of any interest to anybody.

126. Curiously, however, Lattimore seems to be defining "Mongol" as residents of the country of Mongolia. He makes no mention of Mongols living in China or elsewhere.

127. In 1936 Ferdinand D. Lessing (1882-1961) taught the first Mongolian language courses in the United States at the University of California at Berkeley. Born in Essen, Germany, Lessing spent seventeen years studying languages, Asian civilizations, and Buddhism in China. After returning to Germany he studied at the University of Berlin and earned a doctorate in 1926. Four years later he was part of Sven Hedin's expedition to explore, particularly, Inner Mongolia ("Ferdinand Dierich Lessing" 1962: 11). Perhaps Lessing's most lasting contribution was the compilation of a Mongolian-English dictionary that was republished in the 1990s by the Mongolia Society. It was deemed important enough to be pirated in China and sold in a "Not For Foreigners' Bookstore" in Beijing for the equivalent of three American dollars in 1986.

128. Poppe's students include several of the leading lights in Mongol studies in the United States in the late twentieth century. Furthermore, certain of his writings about the Mongol language have been translated by the Mongol Language Research Institute associated with Inner Mongolia University for use by resident Mongolists who are Mongol and Han.

129. In 1995 Charles Krusekopf and Jesse Curtis of Seattle, Washington launched Mongolia Monthly "a newsletter providing a variety of stories from the world press on topics related to Mongolia, including economic, political, and cultural affairs" (Krusekopf and Curtis n.d.: 1) and Mongolia News Brief "a weekly service

that compiles stories from the world and Mongolian press covering current economic and political developments in Mongolia" (1). The latter publication is available through both FAX and electronic mail. The second issue of Mongolia Monthly features articles divided into categories of "Business and Trade," "Government Affairs," and "Culture and Society." Gleaned from major news services, they are a valuable reflection of contemporary interest in Mongolia.

130. The inside cover of the 1994 issue of the journal states that

The Mongolia Society was established in 1961 as a private non-profit, non-political organization interested in promoting and furthering the study of Mongolia, its history, language and culture. The aims of the Society are exclusively scholarly, educational, and charitable.

131. Mongolia Survey was the successor of the Mongolia Society Newsletter that ran for seventeen issues from December 1985 to September 1994. The only difference between the two as of late 1995, was new editorship and a more unified formatting.

132. In early 1993 the Mongolia Society reported a total of 441 members. This included two honorary members, twenty-two life members, one sustaining member, 242 regular members, sixty-six student members, six corporate members, thirty-six libraries in the United States, twenty foreign libraries, and forty-two complimentary members (Meserve 1993: 80). This was a substantial increase over the list of sixty members reported in 1962, which included William O. Douglas (the Society's first honorary president), Owen Lattimore, and Harrison Salisbury ("Members" 1962: 15-16). Nevertheless, the number of members in 1993 indicates meager interest in Mongolia and Mongols, the Mongolia Society or, perhaps, both.

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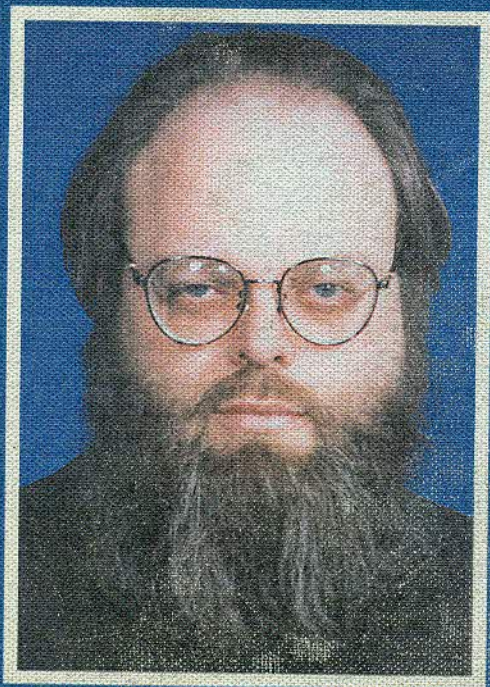
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